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East Europe Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 1850



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CONTENTS

ALBANIA

- Struggle To Keep National, Socialist Character of Culture Urged
(Nimet Balili; RRUGA E PARTISE, Nov 80)..... 1

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

- Briefs
- Cultural, Scientific Accord 11
 - Protocol With Mongolia 11
 - Cuban Envoy's Mission 11
 - Chairman Appointed 11

HUNGARY

- Berez Analysis Current Political Climate, U.S. Aims
(Janos Berez; TARSADALMI SZEMLE, Jan 81)..... 13

POLAND

- Military Daily Scores Dissident Leader, Program
(Stanislaw Jung; ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI, 12 Dec 80)..... 29

ROMANIA

- History Journal on Discord Among Historians at Bucharest Congress
(ANALE DE ISTORIE, Sep-Oct 80)..... 32

- Improved Out-Patient Care Top Priority for 1981
(Eugen Proca Interview; MUNCITORUL SANITAR, 3 Jan 81)..... 33

YUGOSLAVIA

- Output, Exports of Armament Industry Reviewed
(Stevan Korda; NEDELJNE INFORMATIVNE NOVINE, 21 Dec 80)..... 35

Lifestyle of Indolent Young Belgraders Explored (Miroslav Petkovic, Bozidar Jojic, Dusan Gamser; OMLADINSKE NOVINE, 25 Nov 80).....	40
Congregating Near University Building Offhand Survey Responses	

STRUGGLE TO KEEP NATIONAL, SOCIALIST CHARACTER OF CULTURE URGED

Tirana RRUGA E PARTISE in Albanian Nov 80 pp 46-55

[Article by Nimet Balili: "Let Us Correctly Conceive and Develop the Struggle Against the Pressure of Cosmopolitan and Bourgeois-Revisionist Hegemonistic Culture"]

[Text] An important front of the struggle against the capital and revisionist encirclement is that of culture, an area in which our country and people have collected a rich experience and achieved great success. The struggle to block the path to the degenerate capitalist, bourgeois and revisionist culture and to preserve the national character and ideological purity of our proletarian culture and art constitutes an important aspect of the work of the party and of its levers, directly connected with the protection of the moral and political purity of our new man and with the conception of the correct implementation of the struggle against foreign manifestations and liberal attitudes towards them.

The party has always recommended that a critical revolutionary attitude be maintained toward foreign culture. This guidance has a special value in the present time when the "phenomena of the decay and degeneration of bourgeois culture are becoming more and more emphasized" (Enver Hoxha, Reports and Speeches 1972-1973, p 320), when, as an evidence of this decay, various "isms" are germinating, when "new" schools are born every day and when the super-powers, with a deafening propaganda, try to sell, as in fairs, their cosmopolitan hegemonistic culture in every corner of the world.

Led by the teachings of the party, the party organs and basic party organizations, the government organs and the cultural, scientific and artistic institutions and all the working people of our country are carrying on a fruitful work for developing our socialist culture on correct bases, so as to preserve it from any foreign influence and to eradicate from it any unhealthy manifestation.

However, despite the apparent achievements noted in all the fields of our cultural development, the party advises us to go back to this problem time after time, because, in practice, as a result of the pressure exerted on us by the bourgeois and revisionist culture, misunderstandings and distortions emerge time after time, constituting the basis for the revitalization of foreign manifestations and influences.

In these conditions, much work remains to be done in the future by the party organs and basic party organizations and their levers, especially, by the workers in literature, art and culture, first, in order to create, among all workers, a healthy conviction about the great ideological and political values of our national culture and the necessity of its development on the socialist path and, secondly, to clarify the danger presented by the cultural aggression of the bourgeois-revisionist world, especially, of the superpowers, as one of the means used by the international bourgeoisie aiming at the degeneration of our people and of the culture of the socialist system.

1. The culture of a people and of a nation is the reflection of their historic efforts to know and to transform the character of society so that they will rise and develop as a country and as a nation. The culture of every country and of every nation, in the process of their creation, acquires originality, the seal of the specific conditions under which that people and that nation develop; they are enriched and passed down by one generation to the other and converted into a weapon of struggle for further social and national progress. In the history of every country and every people, the national culture participates, as an important factor, in the preservation and development of the nation, of its liberty and independence.

However, having a class character, every type of culture does not serve the people of any given country and the progress of society in general. The democratic national culture alone is the reflection of the best ideals, thoughts, feelings, customs and traditions which have resisted for centuries and which have been continually developed and enriched. Therefore, it is near and dear to the people, very comprehensible to the people and the nation, and respected by the other people, too.

In the national awareness of the people, the feeling of independence and of the existence as a people and as a nation is very closely linked with the feeling of domestic and foreign enemies on this culture has always been converted into a patriotic action, just as it was when their land and liberty have been threatened.

This dialectical cooperation and joint development, which is evidence of the place and great role of the progressive culture in the life of a people, is also demonstrated by the history of our people. Comrade Enver Hoxha, in his speech at the Bahcellek meeting in Shkoder in 1979, referring to history, made it clear that many foreign occupiers have ravaged these old lands of our ancestors, but "they could not destroy the Albanian people nor the old Illyrian culture and its Albanian continuity. "This fact," continued Comrade Enver Hoxha, "shows the great love of our people for life; it shows their exemplary determination to protect the hearth, culture, unity and every sacred asset of the Albanian Nation" (Enver Hoxha, "The Earthquake Shakes the Mountains But Not the Albanians," p 7).

Our national culture, as the concentrated reflection of the best values of the people, has served and serves as a great inspiring and mobilizing force both in the struggle for the liberation of the country from the foreign

occupiers and for social liberation and in the struggle for the consolidation and further development of the victories achieved during the years of the people's government. During the National Liberation Struggle, the Albanian Communist Party powerfully relied on our best freedom-loving, progressive and democratic traditions, reflected in the history of our people, on our rich folklore and on the works of the ideologists and politicians of the national renaissance and of the progressive writers and publicists of the period of independence. The new revolutionary culture was born and grew during the people's revolution; it played its great role in inspiring and mobilizing the people, in lifting them up in the struggle and in making the most sublime sacrifices for the liberation of the fatherland and for establishing a people's democratic system. Our party has made it clear that what a generation achieves, no matter how great and progressive it may be, cannot be considered as detached from what has been achieved by the preceding generations for the creation of culture and of national traditions. The work of the party, Comrade Enver Hoxha has stressed, is nothing else but the revolutionary tradition of our people, elevated to a higher level and enriched and imbued with Marxist-Leninist ideology.

In the conditions of socialism and of the dictatorship of the proletariat, especially, in our specific conditions of the building of the new society, being in the middle of the great hostile imperialist and revisionist ocean, patriotism and the struggle to defend the fatherland, liberty, independence, socialism and the dictatorship of the proletariat and to develop, enrich and defend the national character of culture, are elevated to a higher level and assume new dimensions.

The theoretical and practical struggle waged by the party and Comrade Enver Hoxha to preserve the national character of our culture and art has great national and international values. The Seventh Party Congress reaffirmed once more the Marxist-Leninist line of the party in this field of the socialist revolution and stressed that, in the new international conditions, when the superpowers, "on the basis of their aims for the domination of the world and for the spiritual and political enslavement of the people, are spending the ideas of cosmopolitanism and of the so-called internationalism of arts and culture" (Enver Hoxha, "On Literature and Art," p 537), the struggle of the people to preserve their national culture assumes a great importance. By doing this, Comrade Enver Hoxha teaches us, "the people defend their independence, existence and traditions and, thus, make their contribution to the treasury of world culture" (Enver Hoxha, "On Literature and Art," p 538).

In these circumstances, the party has demanded and demands that our struggle for the defense of national culture be elevated to an ever increasing level so that it will successfully confront the ever-increasing cultural aggression of the bourgeois and revisionist world. The success of this struggle also greatly depends on how we see the culture of the other people and countries and what we accept or what we reject of this culture.

It is a historical fact that our people have always evaluated revolutionary, progressive and democratic culture and art in the world, whether the culture and art is from the past or from our century. At the Fourth Plenum of the

party Central Committee in June 1973, the party recommended that, henceforth, we would use this cultural wealth, but, always by seeing it in a critical manner, so as to take from it the necessary quantity and only when it serves the cultural development of our masses and their ideological and aesthetical education.

However, while condemning xenophobia, xenomania is also condemned with the same force in our country, especially, when it is expressed in relation to the official culture of the superpowers which, allegedly, does not consider "social prejudices" and "ideological bonds," is clothed with a foreign polish and is accompanied by noisy publicity on the screens of movie houses and television programs, in magazines, and in newspapers and radio programs with the aim at converting the simple people into passive consumers of the poisonous bourgeois and revisionist ideas and at making this consumption a need and a habit for them. Comrade Enver Hoxha tells us that "not only do we have nothing to learn from this culture, not only do we not have to acquaint our masses and youth with it, but also we must reject it with contempt and combat it with determination" (Elver Hoxha, Reports and Speeches 1972-1973, p 321).

2. The successful development of the struggle against the pressure exerted on us through the bourgeois-revisionist cosmopolitan hegemonic culture requires both the deep knowledge of the ways and of the intensity of the dissemination and influence of this pressure and of the many possibilities and means at our disposal so as to confront this pressure of an ideological nature. In the development of this struggle, it is necessary to take into consideration the fact that, first, the wave of the bourgeois-revisionist cultural aggression, especially, against our culture and country, is constantly increasing; second, despite the great struggle waged and being waged against the ideological and cultural aggression of the bourgeois-revisionist world, it is not possible to pretend that all the channels of its infiltration into our country have been closed; third, the struggle to protect the national character and proletarian party-mindedness of our culture is more fruitful when it is considered and developed as a struggle with an emphasized ideological character; and, fourth, without knowing the nature and aims of the cosmopolitan hegemonistic culture, it is not possible to struggle against it with the required effectiveness.

What does life show?

First, there are many facts showing that, in general, the wave of the bourgeois and revisionist cultural aggression against our country and our culture is not decreasing; on the contrary, it is increasing and the intensity of its aggressiveness is also increasing. It is known by now that the imperialist cultural and ideological aggression is as old as the imperialist policy of occupation and as old as the aim of the imperialist bourgeoisie for the domination and denationalization of the other people. In the present conditions, this aggression has taken dimensions, intensity and aggressiveness of the greatest degree; it grows along with the deterioration of imperialism, along with the intensification of its general crisis on national and

international levels. Today, this cultural aggression of imperialism has taken new dimensions and shrewdness; it has multiplied its means and channels of infiltration; and has perfected its forms, methods and disguises.

The cultural aggression of the superpowers serves their policy of hegemony. This policy is determined in accordance with the correct counterrevolutionary objectives which these powers intend to achieve in various countries and areas of the world, in harmony with the stages of implementation of colonialism and of neocolonialism and with their hegemonistic aims and plundering greed. Somewhere, the imperialist ideological and cultural aggression seeks to prepare the conditions for that people and that country to accept political and economic dependence; somewhere else, efforts are being made, at the same time, to pave the way for military aggression; and, in general, efforts are aimed at deeply instilling the psychology of slavery so as to destroy everything that is national. This is why the struggle for the national, political, economic and social liberation of the world people against any imperialism, especially, against the superpowers, is very closely linked with the struggle for the defense of national culture, with the struggle against the cultural aggression of imperialism. This was clearly reflected in the anti-imperialist revolution in Iran, whose people, after having denounced the reactionary policy of the United States of America and the attempts of American imperialism to keep the hateful regime of Shah Pahlavi in power, took concrete measures to remove the regressive influence of American culture, to which the previous antipeople regime had opened all its doors.

To implement its ideological and cultural aggression, the imperialist bourgeoisie, especially, the two superpowers, have built and are continually expanding their powerful propaganda industry. It is enough to stress that the United States Department of International Relations, whose task it is to coordinate the propaganda activity in other countries, has 10 sections in the United States and 189 regional sections called "cultural centers" in 120 countries in the world. "The Voice of America," one of the largest propaganda networks, has 8,900 collaborators in various countries and has an annual budget of \$365 million. It has 36 radio transmitting stations which broadcast in 50 different languages. The USIA (United States Information Agency) handles 65 percent of all the information and 70 percent of the radio-television advertisements in the world. Every day, it prepares more than 1,700 television programs which are retransmitted by 2,087 television stations in 97 countries in the world. In Africa, as a result of the cultural aggression of American imperialism, and of the opening of the doors to it by the antipeople regimes of many countries, at a time when the largest newspapers of these countries barely have a circulation of 5,000 copies, the printing of the American magazine THE PROSPECTS OF AMERICA, published in Ghana and Kinshasa, exceeds 100,000 copies.

The Soviet revisionists also distinguish themselves year after year in the intensification of the cultural propaganda campaign. They propagandize the chauvinistic feeling in favor of a great Russia in the vassal countries of the so-called socialist family and anywhere else in the world where doors are opened to them.

The revisionist agency NOVOSTI, one of the largest in the Soviet Union, in 1963 it published 26 magazines, 5 newspapers and 25 bulletins with a circulation of 1.5 million copies in foreign countries. In 1977, this agency, had contacts with 110 countries and published, in other countries, 50 magazines and 10 newspapers in 56 foreign languages with a circulation of 2.5 million copies. While, the official news agency TASS, in order to distribute its materials, maintains relations with 300 information agencies, publishing houses and television stations in 90 countries of the world. The publishing house "Mezhdunarodnaya Kniga" distributes its books through 1,000 foreign book selling firms in 130 countries of the world.

The Chinese social imperialists, too, are more and more, accompanying their policy of rivalry, domination and hegemony in the world by the invigoration of their aggressive cultural propaganda machinery towards the so-called "Third World." Their xenophobia in the field of culture within the country is implemented through cultural aggression against the other people and countries.

Second, we must take into consideration the fact that the struggle against the imperialist-revisionist ideological and cultural aggression, as a struggle with a class character, is a continuous and a long one and that, despite the successes achieved in the struggle against it and the measures taken to close the channels of its penetration, these channels have not been completely closed; therefore, we cannot claim that the danger of the penetration, in our country, of the special aspects of the bourgeois-revisionist culture has been removed. It is known that the contacts with the capitalist and revisionist world and exchanges in the field of economy, culture and tourism will continue and will be continued. Also, some people even now listen to foreign radio and television programs; some other people read foreign books and magazines or accept parcels from outside the country. Therefore, the pressure continues through various means and channels; and we see the manifestations of the influence of this pressure time after time in some spheres of activity and in the ways of living. Among other things, we also see them in some creations in the field of literature and arts.

The literary and artistic creativity and its implementation and interpretation in our country are party-minded, healthy and based on our national foundation. As such, they have become a powerful means for the communist education of the masses and for raising their communist ideological and artistic level. However, despite these achievements, negative phenomena are observed time after time in our literary and artistic creativity which tell about a lowering of vigilance and about a shallow work by some creative people and by some members of the editorial staff. These foreign influences and manifestations are manifested sometimes in one form, sometimes in another form and sometimes in a hidden manner; but, sometimes, they also are manifested openly. In general, they are discovered and known, especially, by the leadership organs and organizations of the literary and artistic activity; but, the organizing of discussions and ideological debates about them does not yet constitute a work method. Sometimes, the name of the author is evaluated but not the work that he presents. This explains the

fact that there have been cases when, although a work had won a prize in competitions, nevertheless, the work has been unacceptable to the publishing house and to the press, radio and television organs; and, this is not only because of its poor artistic level, but also because of its ideological shortcomings. Foreign manifestations are also seen, although rarely, in choreography where dancing rhythms, which do not have national character, have been presented.

These and some other vital facts prove that, in the totality of the measures that should be taken to block the path to the infiltration of the cultural concepts and regressive tastes of the bourgeois-revisionist world in our country, special importance must be given by the party organs and basic party organizations, especially, by those of the cultural institutions, to the strengthening of the spirit of debates and criticism in the various analyses carried out on the special works and problems of creativity. Because this spirit is not everywhere and always at the proper level, weak scenarios with ideological shortcomings such as the film "The Small Guerrilla Group," are permitted to proceed to production and about 15 percent of unpublished literary works have ideological mistakes. The same thing occurs with some creations in the fields of the figurative arts, dramas and musical compositions. We also feel the lack of a healthy spirit of criticism in some other articles and publications, in which, while one speaks with euphoria about achievements and insists on saying good things about as many authors as possible, when it comes to setting forth the problems that disturb us, these problems are gone over superficially and treated in an overall manner without criticizing by name the authors of the works with foreign influences and manifestations and without analyzing these works.

These foreign influences and manifestations also occur because of the fact that, it seems, the party organizations in some cultural and artistic institutions do not show the proper attention so that their creativity collectives will be converted into centers where philosophical, artistic and aesthetic thoughts and so forth are vigorously debated. They also occur because there are cases when they are minimized and, sometimes, ideological mistakes are presented as problems of form and not as problems of content. This is an erroneous and very dangerous trend. "Simplifying the danger of the bourgeois and revisionist influences, especially, when this is done by "educated" intellectual people," it was stressed at the Fourth Plenum of the Party Central Committee in June 1973, "is not just negligence, but a trend, a tendency which, if it is not combatted, becomes greater and dangerous" (Enver Hoxha, Reports and Speeches 1972-1973, p 312).

And, to correctly evaluate the danger and consequences of the pressure of foreign bourgeois-revisionist ideology, it is necessary to intensify and expand the work for the ideological formation of writers and artists and for the better and better assimilation, on their part, of the teachings of the party and of Comrade Enver Hoxha and for systematical control over the extent of the implementation of these teachings.

Third, the breadth of the field where the influence of the regressive bourgeois-revisionist culture is manifested shows that the struggle against the cultural aggression of this world must be developed in a broad front. Cultural regression, as a part of ideological aggression, aims at corrupting the minds of all our people; therefore, the struggle against it cannot be completely successful if the party organs and basic party organizations base this struggle only on the people of the sector of arts and culture and do not assure the participation in this struggle of all the working masses, which, in regard to the conditions of socialism, are the object and subject of culture.

In general, the manner of action derives from the manner of thinking; consequently, the attitude toward the national culture and the struggle against the bourgeois and revisionist cultural and ideological aggression are determined by the level of the ideological and political enlightenment of our people. The educational work of the party and of its levers to create a firm conviction in the working people about the vital necessity of defending the national culture has more results when this defense is conceived as a component part of the class struggle in the ideological front, as an important part of the struggle for the patriotic and revolutionary education of our new man.

It is known that, in general, culture has a direct ideological and class character. However, it is necessary to state clearly it is not only books, films, dramas, pictures and music that have such a character; they, as proper creations, contain a definite idea, reflect specific outlooks and ideas and serve established aims. We find the class character of the culture of every country in all its material production and in the clothing and behavior of its people. This is the reason that we correctly consider, as foreign to our morality and to our culture, all these extravagant styles which are copied from foreign fashion magazines or which are seen on the screens of foreign television programs. Fashion, its periodical changes, like having long hair or growing beards and the use of all kinds of rings and pendants have their roots in bourgeois morality, in such characteristics as individualism and egoism and in the feelings of the people who want to show off in society and to distinguish themselves from the others, the feelings which the bourgeoisie raises to a great extent, making them social phenomena and exploiting them so as to increase its profits.

The influence exercised on the people who are not properly formed by elements of the bourgeois and revisionist culture, with the passing of time, is transformed in these people into a way of living, into conceptions of understanding, if these influences are not evaluated and combatted in a concrete and systematical manner in general, especially, in those people who manifest them. This is the reason that, in the totality of the work carried out to unmask imperialist aggressiveness in the political, military and economic fields, an important place is taken by the ideological and political work of the party and of its levers, by our cultural institutions and by a well-thoughtout and organized propaganda for denouncing, in a convincing and forceful manner, the cultural aggression which the superpowers and the entire capitalist and revisionist world exert, as well as the forms, means and channels used by

this aggression and the danger which it presents, when it is undervalued or when it is combatted with campaigns and slogans without properly knowing their channels of infiltration and the ways of closing them.

Our party, especially, after the Fourth Plenum of the Party Central Committee of 1973, at which it eliminated the antiparty, antisocialist and anticommunist activity of F. Pacrami and T. Lubonja, has collected a rich experience in the struggle to strengthen the national character of culture and to block the paths of penetration to degenerate capitalist and revisionist culture. And, the past period has proven and is proving more and more the fact that capitalist, bourgeois and revisionist cultural aggression can be confronted with complete success and can also be defeated. It has confirmed that the best way to liquidate this aggression has been, is and will be the comprehensive, clarifying, formational, educational, organizational and creative work for consolidating and enriching our socialist culture.

Fourth, in the framework of the struggle against the aim, character and forms of the capitalist, bourgeois and revisionist culture, the exposing, in a scientific and documentary manner, of the concept of the "internationalization of culture" and of all the other cosmopolitan and hegemonic concepts that the imperialist ideologists disseminate in order to justify them and in order to open the road to the imperialist aggression, is of a special importance. The concept of the "internationalization of culture" is a reactionary cosmopolitan concept which, in fact, means the liquidation of the other cultures and the domination of the superpowers' culture.

The creation of a new international culture in the conditions of imperialism is as much an impossible attempt as a reactionary one. The culture of the imperialist or revisionist bourgeoisie of any country can certainly not be an international culture, nor can it be the culture of the people of that country. In reality, it is an antipeople, antinational and aggressive culture; consequently, it is unacceptable both to the people of that country and to the other people. The imperialist bourgeoisie of the superpowers is trying to equate its culture and true national culture so as to mask its class aim and the imperialist cultural aggression against the other countries. But, Lenin teaches us that in every national culture in the countries with exploiting classes there are two cultures and that the meaning of the slogan of national culture is determined by the objective relationship of all the classes of one country and of all the countries of the world.

Besides this, the concept of "internationalization" hides the true political character of the cultural aggression and the imperialist, hegemonic and liquidating intention toward the other national cultures. One of the architects of the present aggressive policy of American imperialism, Brzezinski, affirmed the true aims in this field when he declared recently that it must not be permitted that "the cultural crisis and other crises weaken the importance and the leadership role of the United States in the world." The bourgeois ideologists are loudly propagandizing that the present crisis of art and culture can be confronted only with American models. It is openly propagandized, for example, that the "American painting has brought back to the Europeans their artistic history," and that "the small people, the backward countries and the inferior races and so forth are not capable of developing their culture."

The Soviet social imperialists, in implementing their policy of "limited sovereignty," propagandize the necessity of removing the limits of the expansion of the Soviet culture not only inside the republics of the Soviet Union, but also between the people of the "socialist family." The Chinese revisionists are also manifesting hegemonistic and cosmopolitan tendencies. They are trying to present their culture of the "100 schools and 100 flowers" as the highest culture in the world, a culture that deserves to be embraced by all the other people, at a time when they keep a disdainful and xenophobic attitude toward world culture.

Clarification and forceful denunciation, in a documented and continuing manner, of these concepts, of the true intentions, cover-ups and deceits of the superpowers in the field of culture serve to increase vigilance and strengthen the active militant attitude in the defense of the national culture by the communists, cadres and people in the sphere of culture and art and by all our working masses.

The work to denounce the concepts and the regressive cultural creativity of the capitalist-bourgeois and revisionist world, as well as the other work developed in the struggle against every remnant of foreign ideology, is successful when many and varied work forms and means are used, such as talks, lectures, posters, cartoons, hand outs, variety shows and so forth. Their use becomes more effective when the characteristics of work centers, zones and districts are taken into consideration and when the age and the cultural and ideological level of the person having the taste for foreign things or foreign manifestations is known.

The invigoration of our cultural and artistic life also serves the great cause of preserving our national culture; it develops healthy tastes in our people and, at the same time, it does not allow contradiction between the increasing demands of the people for culture and the level of implementation of these demands; therefore, it does not create objective premises to fulfill this gap in the channels of the bourgeois-revisionist culture. The knowledge and scientific development of our past culture and of our national traditions, also serve this purpose. The importance of this matter was also stressed by Comrade Enver Hoxha at his meeting with the cadres in Shkoder when he assigned the task of expanding studies in the language of the people and in their songs, legends and so forth, not only because of their great artistic values, but also because it is through them that scholars will better know the history and life of our people, the way they lived and the way they fought in the past centuries, therefore, they will know the national characteristics of our people and of their culture.

By increasing the struggle for the defense and development of the national character of culture and by further strengthening the socialist content and its national and popular physiognomy, at the same time, we will make it not only an ever greater educational force for our people, but also one which is nearer and dearer to the other people who highly evaluate our cultural wealth and the educational force of our folklore, literature and art of socialist realism.

BRIEFS

CULTURAL, SCIENTIFIC ACCORD--Prague, 26 Nov (CTK)--CSSR Deputy Premier Rudolf Rohlicek received Antonio Branco, minister of industry and power of the People's Republic of Mozambique, in Prague on Wednesday. Their talk concerned the possibilities and prospects of expanding mutual relations between their two countries, especially in the economic sphere. An accord on cultural and scientific cooperation between the CSSR and the Government of the People's Republic of Mozambique was signed at the Cernin Palace the same day. The accord was signed by Bohuslav Chnoupek, CSSR minister of foreign affairs, and Antonio Branco, minister of industry and power. The accord enriches the already existing contractual basis of Czechoslovak-Mozambican relations, which have their tradition dating back to the period of the Mozambican people's struggle for independence and which are successfully developing in the spirit of the principles of international solidarity. The accord creates prerequisites for a broader exchange of cultural values and for the further development of cooperation in the spheres of science, education, information media, health, physical fitness and sports. [Text] [AU291846 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 27 Nov 80 p 2]

PROTOCOL WITH MONGOLIA--In Prague on Friday, a protocol on the result of cooperation in the past period and the program of activity for the next year were signed by Frantisek Sramek, CSSR minister of construction and technology, in his function as chairman of the subcommission for scientific-technical cooperation with the Mongolian People's Republic, and by Dangaasurengiyn Saldan, minister-chairman of the MPR state committee for economic relations abroad. [Text] [Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 29 Nov 80 p 2]

CUBAN ENVOY'S MISSION--Pedro W. Luis Torres, ambassador of the Republic of Cuba to the CSSR, left the country on 29 November 1980 after completing his diplomatic tour of duty. At the Ruzyne airport he was seen off by J. Tucek, head of diplomatic protocol at the CSSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs. [Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 1 Dec 80 p 2]

CHAIRMAN APPOINTED--Prague, 18 Dec (CTK)--In keeping with the law adopted by the 20th Joint Session of Federal Assembly Chambers, the CSSR Government has appointed Zdenek Cernak to the post of chairman of the Federal Press and Information Office. The Federal Press and Information Office will propose to the federal government principles of state policy in matters concerning press and information media, ensure their uniform application and coordination and pursue other activities in the field of information. Zdenek Cernak was born on 14 July 1928. In the years 1947 to 1951 he attended the Prague College for Political and Social Studies.

Up to 1969 he was working in the political staff of the Czechoslovak People's Army. After 1969 he held the office of leading secretary of the CPCZ District Committee in Prague's second district. In 1972 he was elected leading secretary of the CPCZ District Committee in Prague's first district and since January 1976 he has been working at the CPCZ Central Committee. He has gone through many party and public posts. He has been awarded a number of military and party distinctions and the state award "For Merits in Construction." [Text] [AU221426 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 19 Dec 80 p 2]

CSO: 2020

BERECZ ANALYSES CURRENT POLITICAL CLIMATE, U.S. AIMS

Budapest TARSADALMI SZEMLE in Hungarian No 1, Jan 81 pp 40-54

[Article by Janos Berecz, member of the MSZMP Central Committee and chief of Party's Foreign Affairs Department: "Detente and Tension in Current International Relations"]

[Text] After World War II the international situation developed in such a way that, with various shadings, it was possible to distinguish two periods which followed one another--the cold war, with periodic increase in tension, and opposed to it a relaxation of tension. After two decades of cold war we entered the 1970's with a relaxation of tension increasingly characterizing international relations. On the basis of the facts Leonid Brezhnev said in October 1973 at the world congress of peace loving forces in Moscow: "The chief tendency in the development of international contacts at present is a turning from cold war to a relaxation of tensions and from military confrontation to a strengthening of security, toward peaceful cooperation." In the wake of the peace policy initiated by the socialist countries and the realistic steps of a significant number of the politicians of capitalist countries the international situation improved. The report of the Central Committee at the 11th congress of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party in March 1975 also gave this evaluation: "...detente has become the chief trend of world politics."

After Helsinki, however, the reactionary circles started a counterattack and circles interested in continuing the arms race made their great influence felt. In May 1978 NATO adopted a long-range arms program for 15 years and in 1979 passed a resolution concerning preparations to deploy the so-called Euro-rockets. They tried to get public opinion to accept all this by virtue of a powerful propaganda war directed against the socialist countries. The consequence--as they formulated it in the second half of the 1970's--was the slowing and recoiling of detente. Detente was still effective as the chief trend in the development of international relations, but the appearance of tension was more palpable than earlier; in the last year of the administration of American president Carter further active cold war spirited steps were taken in world politics. The boycott, the "reprimand" and other similar measures were taken out of the lumber box. As a pretext they cited the Soviet aid given at the end of December 1979 to the Afghan revolutionary forces. What actually happened was that the Washington regime answered with global, comprehensive measures, having an unfavorable effect on the international situation as a whole, the forced step of the Soviet Union closely interdependent with its own regional security and in no way threatening the United States or

its allies. All this recalled the tools of the cold war period, sharpened the cold winds and damaged the atmosphere of detente.

At the fall 1980 session of the Hungarian National Assembly--correcting our earlier diagnoses in accordance with the new, more complex situation--Janos Kadar said: "Many unfavorable developments have contributed to the fact that cold war winds again blow over the world. In such circumstances we can justly state that factors of detente and of tension are simultaneously present in the international situation." This statement is the analysis of our party concerning the present condition of international relations; it is proper and necessary to think it through and interpret it correctly.

I.

First of all we must remember that even in the period of the cold war there were agreements and brief periods of relaxation and even in the years of detente there were events which gave rise to tension, when international imperialism took cold war steps.

There are objective economic-social factors behind the tendencies of detente and tension. So it is not exactly correct to think that in the present world situation detente is an objective necessity while one can find purely subjective causes--behavior of the right wing forces of capitalist countries unwilling or unable to recognize the real situation--behind the tension.

The present international situation is defined primarily by the contacts, the mutual relations of the two world systems, socialism and capitalism. Before all else the transition from cold war, from a condition of explosive confrontation, to the relaxation of tensions depended on changes taking place in international power relationships. Today also it is primarily the power relationships, their components and the subjective efforts to change them that influence the world situation.

Before all else the tendencies of tension derive from the existence and nature of imperialism. Imperialism is increasing armaments for two chief reasons; in the first place it is guided by business, profit motives and in the second place it fears the spread of progressive forces endangering its rule and influence. The chief manifestations of the increase in tension are the increasing armaments, the threats of military force and the attempt directed at armed oppression of progressive systems and movements. The tools of political, economic, ideological, diplomatic and propaganda pressure contribute to this.

Considering the role it plays among the leading capitalist countries the international activity of the United States of America is especially substantial. The United States is now in a period of policy formation after the presidential election. Many analyses are being published in the country and no few internal studies are being prepared in regard to what the world will be like in the next decade or by the end of the century and what sort of international behavior the administration of the United States should display. These stands reflect the most varied trends and draw the most different lessons and contain very different proposals. It is obvious that we will know from its program and primarily from its practical acts which of these the new administration has chosen. But certain

elements can be felt already which are essentially independent of the outcome of the completed presidential election struggle and changes at the top and which will probably be important components of the international policy and behavior of the United States in the decade ahead.

The various analyses and studies designate two pivots for the development of the international behavior of the Americans. One they see in that an end must be put to the way in which the United States has been forced back in the international arena in the past decade, because this fills the ruling class with anxiety and "violates the national interests of the American people." The other is that a thermonuclear clash with the Soviet Union must be avoided in any way--because it would "demand an unpayably high price." Their conclusion from this is a double one: on the one hand the United States must make efforts to again be the most powerful state on earth so that it can always realize its interests everywhere, and on the other hand this must be done in such a way as to avoid the ultimate clash, thus maintaining certain elements of detente.

The foreign policy experts of the United States feel that this can be realized by a policy in which detente and the so-called "containment" are implemented together. Detente--in their view--prevented a thermonuclear clash but it did not stop the process of social changes in the world and thus its fulfillment had a harmful effect on the social-economic interests of the United States. Even in the period of the cold war it had to be admitted, concerning the policy called "containment," that sometimes the international situation sharpened beyond what was tolerable and carried the world to the brink of war and even despite this it brought them only partial results in preventing social changes.

The most important element of the concept of "containment" is power and its most important question is the judgment of power relationships, of the power balance. (When we speak of the power balance we are speaking rather of the balance of military forces and not so much economic forces.) So from the viewpoint of contemporary international relations it is very important how the incoming American administration relates to power politics.

The recurring goal of the imperialist power politics, of the development of armaments, is--as LE MONDE writes--to gain the strategic advantage, "security superiority." But this aspiration creates a unique spiral in the international situation. In circumstances which appear disadvantageous to them the imperialist forces striving for power superiority develop a base for research on new weapons and step up the pace of research. The bulk of this process falls in the more relaxed period. Then they prepare for mass manufacture of the new weapons and then for deployment of them, taking care for a public opinion suitable for this. The development of public opinion is always tendentious; it is based on reports which cannot be checked and starts by saying that the socialist countries, primarily the Soviet Union, have "gained superiority" in some sphere. The misleading arguments vary but what is always behind them is to make the introduction into the army of the already prepared new technology, the new weapons system, acceptable to the political decision-makers and the masses.

Life has always proved thus far that the American hopes to gain superiority by introducing new tools, new weapon systems, were illusory. The Soviet Union

took care to maintain the military power balance and imperialism has been forced to conclude that the power relationships were even and so they were forced to accept them. This was accompanied by the acceptance of a more relaxed period.

In the period of detente they again began work on new weapon systems, as in the first half of the 1970's they experimented with cruise or winged rockets, developed the MX rocket system, created new warheads, etc. They then perfected these in the middle 1970's and prepared for their mass manufacture, and then found time to prepare public opinion for their deployment. They feel that all this will ensure them power superiority by the middle 1980's. We are convinced that it will again be proven that they have not succeeded in gaining strategic superiority. Naturally it is not at all a matter of indifference from the viewpoint of peace and the future of humanity what lessons the Reagan government draws from all this. Will it want to put into practice the campaign slogan according to which there is need for "security superiority" instead of a "global balance"? Or will it recognize that a "factor increase" in the destructibility of the world does not increase the security of the United States either?

It should be added here that the internal relations of the several countries have an effect on the development of the international situation also. From this viewpoint the condition and operation of the political institutional system of the United States plays an especially significant role.

Historically the political institutional system of the United States developed primarily in accordance with internal needs. The purpose of this political institutional system was to ensure power to the capitalist ruling class of the United States, while maintaining the appearance of the broadest democracy, and to balance the conflicts of interest of the various strata of the ruling class.

This political system developed in a period when international problems played a tenth rank role for the United States, because it was occupied primarily with its own internal economic, social and political problems. The entire political institutional system was formed by the internal need to prevent a deterioration in the interest differences appearing among the various groups of the ruling class--such as eastern, western, southern, northeastern, oil, steel, electro-technology interests or lobbies following ethnic groupings--and to prevent an internal struggle endangering the system or to unite their common interests. At that time the external conditions did not play a determining role in building up this political system. For a long time the United States followed essentially an isolationist policy in international life and the great international events very rarely affected the internal situation.

World War II raised the United States to the number one power of the capitalist world and gave it a leading role among the capitalist countries. This happened at a time when changes in the world were accelerating, when every action had an immediate effect on other factors, on the development of the world situation. At such a time quick decisions are needed. In our present divided world there is need for a stable international system strengthened by trust. But the political institutional system of the United States has difficulty in adapting to this requirement--and leading American politicians, such as Edward Kennedy, have recognized and emphasized this. In such circumstances they cannot make quick decisions on proposals by a group which interprets the changes in the world in

a realistic way and on occasion draws correct conclusions. This problem is worsened by the fact that preparations for the elections every 4 years last for 2 years and at such times it can be found that the problems of the entire world, the international questions, easily become a sort of "political commodity." They do not consider it important what objective factors determine the given event, what real interests or actual factors of the various parts of the world might influence the decisions, but rather the steps are determined by whether or not they will help win the election.

Today, however, it is especially important to ensure continuity. It is vital that treaties, agreements and contracts be stable, can be trusted in, so that the international system of peace can be built on them. In the United States, however, the possibilities given by the electoral system are exploited to question continuity, make agreements uncertain and try to force the partners to adjust to the (often only felt) interests of some group of the American ruling class.

Fortunately, in regard to the capitalist world as a whole, a significant number of the bourgeois politicians are sufficiently informed, thoughtful and sober to start from realities in developing an international line. It is their position that preserving peace and detente is vital so they consider talks and agreements necessary. At the same time it must be seen clearly that even these politicians do not break with the bourgeois class aspirations. They start from the view that even the socialist countries are subject to change and they hope that an intensive development of east-west contacts will have an effect favorable to them on the socialist countries. Sometimes they are even inclined to put pressure on the socialist countries in the interest of achieving these changes. It is in this way that these capitalist circles support the building of contacts, admitting the necessity of peaceful coexistence--but keeping military strength at a high level at the same time. All this is especially characteristic of the bourgeois politicians of western European countries.

II.

Today western Europe lives in a contradiction between the powerful pressure of the United States, manifesting itself in every area, and a recognition of the realities of the world. Sober European bourgeois politicians know very well that western Europe is militarily very vulnerable and from the economic viewpoint is in great need of the international division of labor, of east-west contacts. At the same time its military alliances and--let us add--its "defense awareness" unambiguously tie its leaders and a large part of public opinion to the United States. A considerable number of western Europeans still believe that their security can be defended only under the nuclear umbrella of the United States, but the western European political forces are still much more mature than United States public opinion. The capitalist ruling classes of the European countries have much more and more profound experience and knowledge of the world than the American ruling class. In addition there are in western Europe central forces--such as the social democrat parties, certain church circles, the liberals, bourgeois radicals and the movement of the "greens" (environmental protectionists)--which do not exist in the United States; last but not least there is a strong revolutionary left, the Communist Party, in many countries. The organization and political experience of the western European masses is much more developed than that of the working masses of the United States.

All of this is only strengthened by the fact that the fruits of detente are more tangible in Europe than elsewhere. So the base for detente is strongest in Europe.

As a result of these factors western Europe evidences a dual behavior. On the one hand the NATO states of western Europe are bound by their alliance loyalty, which they want to prove too; although somewhat reluctantly, they largely follow the steps of the United States. On the other hand these countries are inclined to take independent steps in defense of their own interests, and this helps to maintain detente and further strengthen certain aspects of it.

It should be noted that from time to time the political tendencies of western Europe produce changes. In the past few years the conservative mood has strengthened in several countries and in some places the elections reflect a certain turn to the right. This is interdependent with the fact that the problems of making a living are increasing, the ratio of unemployed is rising and inflation remains high. A significant part of the ruling class reacts to this by demanding an increase in military expenditures and by trying to turn public opinion in a conservative, anti-socialist direction. Still one cannot speak of a general and comprehensive turn to the right. In Portugal, for example, we experienced a turn to the right in the general elections but the presidential election brought a result reflecting a strengthening of the center. In the FRG the majority of voters again gave their vote to forces taking a position for Ostpolitik and preservation of the achievements of detente. In England the conservatives did gain power a few years ago but--partly as a result of their policies--an opposition mood is strengthening, one sign of which is that leadership has slipped from the hands of the right wing in the Labor Party.

The administration of the United States is putting extraordinarily great pressure on the leading circles of western Europe to carry out a comprehensive armaments program in the next 5 years. Deployment of the "Euro-rockets" and the creation of new powerful weapon and ammunition stockpiles, undertaking military steps outside of Europe and bringing Spain into NATO would be parts of this. It is our experience that the organized peace movement and workers movement have not yet sufficiently recognized that a powerful and effective counter-action is needed to oppose these aspirations. Some trade unions are afraid of destroying the "social balance" and so are evidencing moderated behavior. There is not sufficient unity in the ranks of those opposing armaments; their differing political positions or world views divide them. A significant part of the worker left has not recognized in all its magnitude the danger which has built up in recent years. We must speak of this separately.

In the period of the cold war the revolutionary workers movement of the developed capitalist countries was very far from being able to achieve social changes in their own countries. But it worked more effectively against the cold war, in defense of peace and in enlightening the masses in this direction. Its mass influence was based to a significant degree on the fact that it recognized and supported the peace policy of the Soviet Union and the socialist countries. This is how it achieved its greatest social effect, that the masses did not fall into war hysteria and were not taken in by the cold war agitation of the bourgeoisie.

The possibility of internal social changes arose in a few developed capitalist countries in the first years of the period of detente. A few of the communist

parties with large mass influence came closer to governing, to winning a certain degree of internal social change on the basis of a program of the peaceful and democratic path to socialist revolution. They found new and in many respects successful forms of struggle to realize this program; sometimes, however, they exhibited peculiar behavior. Ignoring the place, time and circumstances of origin of this or that party they began to criticize the reality of the existing socialist countries, comparing it with a picture of some "ideal socialism." Some parties evidenced a relative neutrality in regard to the attacks of international imperialism against the socialist countries and the status quo; they began to seek some sort of "third path" in social and political spheres, and in the interpretation of international relations too. At the same time they did not draw the conclusions from the fact that with the aid of a comprehensive propaganda war against the socialist countries international imperialism was starting a new phase in the arms race.

It must be emphasized that this is not the general picture. Most of the parties of the western European communist movement, for example, represented themselves at the April 1980 meeting of European communist parties in Paris and unanimously took a stand for defending detente and against increasing the arms race. The peace struggle activity of a few parties is especially outstanding. These include the Communist Party of Holland which--although it did not participate in the Paris meeting--worked out a comprehensive peace program and is making great efforts to mobilize the masses against the arms race which endangers the security of all Europe and the achievements of detente and to prevent the deployment of the Euro-rockets.

So while efforts aimed at increasing tension dominate in the collective, definitely declared policy of the NATO countries and while political and military steps in this direction predominate, there are the beginnings in some places of social, government and mass actions which work and struggle in the interest of preserving and further developing the achievements thus far of European peace and security.

III.

The international activity of the Chinese People's Republic has great weight from the viewpoint of the spread of detente or tension. In the past 20 years China has increasingly conducted a policy which contributes to the increase of tension.

From the viewpoint of property and class relationships we consider the Chinese People's Republic to be essentially a country with a socialist foundation. This foundation was created by the victorious Chinese revolution and by the realistic policy of the few years following it. But for about 20 years a sometimes seriously sharpened conflict has been taking place in the Chinese People's Republic between the essentially socialist foundation on the one hand and a practice opposed to the essence of socialism, a petty bourgeois pseudo-revolutionariness and a distorted system of ideals and views on the other. This is a contradiction between the objective laws of reality and the attempts to realize Maoism. Under these circumstances the Maoist leadership developed a deformed foreign policy the essence of which is anti-Sovietism, a striving for great power hegemony and opposition to the socialist countries and the progressive forces and movements. This policy endangers all mankind for it is ready to ignite a war.

When it began its gradual deviation from the teachings of Marxism-Leninism the Maoist leadership first hid its essence with ideological phrases. It announced that Maoism was the Marxism of our age and that China was the center of the revolution. Today it openly makes pacts with imperialism and opposes the Soviet Union, Vietnam and the other socialist countries and the national revolutionary liberation movements.

This foreign policy is not independent of that internal struggle which is taking place in China today, the most important area of which is the development of a political superstructure and the goal of which is the holding of power. According to the signs there did not develop in China, after the so-called great proletarian cultural revolution, a political leadership structure which could produce stability. The power relationships are rather varied among the various groups and contrasting conceptions are expressed and the power struggle itself is reflected in the conflict between them. From time to time there is a compromise between the opposing groups, they agree to create certain political institutions, and then the debate and the struggle among them sharpens again.

It is one characteristic of the struggle taking place among the various Chinese political groups that they are not able to agree on a uniform economic construction program. The 15 year orgy of the cultural revolution caused serious damage to the economy of the Chinese People's Republic and to the standard of living of the Chinese people. The slogan of the four modernizations served to liquidate the damage and define new perspectives. The group which announced this built its program on the idea that the developed capitalist countries would contribute to the modernization of China with large credits and with the most modern technology. But after some results achieved in restoring commodity and financial relationships, in material incentive and in distribution it turned out that western aid was not flooding into the country and there was no base from which the Chinese economy could make some sort of technological leap. So they announced the slogan of adjustment. Then, after 2-3 years, it turned out that the results were incomparably more modest than expected; the policy of adjustment was not realized to the degree hoped.

Another source of uncertainty is that there is no uniform ideology in the China of today; there is only ideological confusion. Every political force refers to Maoism but every step intended to disclose the last 20 years fully and in its own reality--whether in an ideological summing up of the lessons or in the various trials, especially in the trial of the ten--actually puts Maoism in the dock. It now appears unambiguously from the clash between the socialist foundation and the Maoist ideology that Maoism was unsuitable for strengthening or developing the socialist base or creating a socialist China. The outcome of the political struggle among the leading groups is not yet at all clear. In any case it is a fact that even in the midst of this power struggle they are taking apparently united international steps which, in their essence, are Maoist, anti-socialist and against peace.

Thus a nationalist, anti-socialist foreign policy continues to overlay the internal political processes. The leading political circles carrying this out as one while conducting a power struggle with one another are inclined toward new adventures and unexpected steps in international policy. The Maoist leaders of China have not even shrunk from waging war against another socialist country.

Of course, the progressive forces and those who believe in detente would like to hope that in the final analysis the internal political and economic changes which can certainly be felt could have a positive effect on the international behavior of China too. For the time being, however, the fact is that the Chinese leadership is conducting a great power, hegemonist foreign policy; it is taking steps which temporarily increase the influence of international imperialism and weaken the progressive forces. Thus, for the period before us, we must reckon that the Chinese People's Republic will increase the factors of uncertainty and thus of tension and will not contribute to consolidating and strengthening detente or to the realization of the policy of peaceful coexistence.

IV.

The countries of the "third world" play a significant role in the development of international relations. Superficially it might appear that the developing countries are now primarily sources of conflict. In addition--and this is deliberately misleading--bourgeois propaganda plays on this when it makes the socialist countries responsible for this, saying that they support the struggle of the revolutionary, national liberation forces in the "third world."

A labile social structure is characteristic of a large part of the developing countries. Their social structure has not yet developed finally; there is constant social movement. As a whole there is the most change in the developing countries, various unexpected transformations are most frequent, which often lead to explosions. Outside effects are significant also. The deteriorating world economic situation weighs heavily on them as does, not least of all, the increase in armaments expenditures. This is the group of states the military expenditures of which are increasing most quickly. (In part this is interdependent with the creation of independent statehood but it is interdependent with other things as well. Colonialism caused the developing countries to inherit many conflicts and there is a tendency to resolve these by arms; many developing countries have real defense needs, they must protect themselves against the attacks of the imperialists and their hireling regimes; and, of course, a role is also played by the fact that imperialism is doing everything to draw these states into the arms race.)

In regard to the conflicts taking place in the area of the developing countries, these can be divided into two categories. One group is made up of those conflicts which are directly interdependent with the interests and aspirations of the socialist or capitalist world system and thus are carriers in themselves of the international class struggle and as such evoke the danger of world conflict. Such was the intervention of imperialism in Indochina and such are the various interest clashes of the complex near eastern situation. There are also conflicts in which local interests seem to predominate. But only the smaller portion of the conflicts belong here and it can easily happen that these also can have a direct effect on the chief factors of international politics, hiding in themselves the possibility of a broader conflict. Such, for example, is the interest of the United States in deepening the Iraq-Iran war and broadening it into a larger conflict.

Despite all dissimulation it is clear that the tensions and conflicts in the "third world" derive from imperialist rule, from the system of exploitation and

racial oppression and the system of unequal political and economic contacts in general. This is why the socialist countries stand with solidarity and understanding beside the aspirations of the "third world," aspirations which are aimed at creating a new international economic order based on equality and justice, and why they evaluate positively the anti-imperialist appeals and actions of the non-committed movement.

At the time of the unfolding of detente some of the progressive forces of the developing countries received the new phenomenon with reservations. They were fearful that detente would hold back the necessary revolutionary social movements with progressive content and conserve in their area relations based on external imperialist pressure and influence. The Chinese view that detente was nothing more than a mutual agreement of the two great powers, the Soviet Union and the United States, to divide the areas of the "third world" into spheres of interest had an effect also. In reality, since then, the majority of the leaders of the developing countries have become convinced that detente, the broadening and application of the principles of peaceful coexistence, favors their countries also, creating a good atmosphere and a more secure soil for the realization of their aspirations. They have been able to experience that the international conditions for the anti-imperialist struggle improve with the reduction in world tension. In this period fell the victorious liberation struggle of the Indochinese peoples against American imperialism, the becoming independent of the Portuguese colonies and their choice of the revolutionary path, and the development of the socialist orientation of progress in several developing countries. In this period also there was a further improvement in those conditions which made more effective the solidarity and aid of the progressive forces of the world--especially of the community of socialist countries. In the period of detente those circumstances which made possible a greater mobility of material-economic assets for the developing countries in need of them made their effect felt globally also. It is widely recognized that the socialist countries were correct in thinking that by decreasing armaments expenditures a contribution must be made to solving such general problems of the developing countries as, for example, the distorted economic-social structure, unsatisfactory food production and financial-technological dependence on the chief capitalist countries.

In our day it is a task interdependent with the consolidation of world peace and the furthering of the detente process that we contribute to resolving the tensions which have built up in the "third world." The gap between the most developed industrial states and the great majority of the developing countries is demonstrably increasing. Tension is increasing between the rich developing countries, for example those with great energy resources, and the poorest, most backward 20-25 states of the world. At the same time the process of differentiation is proceeding between developing countries with different trends of development too, between those integrating into the capitalist world-economic, world-political system on the one hand and the countries striving to create independent national economies on the other. It is an important circumstance that social polarization and the class struggle are increasing in the majority of the developing countries. The interventionist policy of international imperialism wants to turn this in a reactionary direction.

Continuing the process of international detente makes it necessary for us to turn great attention to these problems. The general belief holds that the aid

offered by the socialist countries is identical with large scale, direct economic-financial aid. But in the present world this path cannot be followed fully. There continues to be need for economic aid insofar as possible. But solutions must be sought elsewhere also.

The countries of the socialist community have rich experiences and by transmitting these they could help solve problems which are on the agenda in many developing countries today. These are problems such as creating balanced social relationships, wiping out illiteracy, raising the cultural and health level of society, developing self government and the tools of social democracy and, not least of all, organizing and guiding the production process and a uniform national economy. All material aid will be useful primarily if it contributes to these aspirations. All material and intellectual aid must be so directed that the internal economic-social transformations, which are unavoidable and necessary, are transformed into consciously directed processes, making possible the well founded development of the country. Outside aid is often necessary to mobilize one's own strength, but these can be realized only together and in harmony. If we contribute to carrying out these tasks then the developing countries will be able to assist more effectively in strengthening world peace and advancing the detente process.

V.

The countries of the socialist community are unambiguously striving to strengthen peace, to create international security and to continue the detente process. Under no circumstances will we change our basic position that guaranteeing peace is a vital condition for and a basic requirement of building a socialist society. Armaments are a sacrifice for us, which we must make in the interest of our defense and security. The fundamental goal of our foreign policy is disarmament and avoiding war and the road leading to this is to establish international security at an ever lower level of armament.

A year ago, at the time of the large scale cold war, anti-detente attack and propaganda campaign started by the administration of the United States and when western Europe also took a stand for the Euro-rockets, the justified question arose in the community of socialist countries: After the given imperialist steps how can one hold talks? But even in this situation it was observed that the socialist countries basically are striving for talks, for coming to an agreement and for continuing the detente process. For us there can be no situation--except in the event of a total thermonuclear world war--which would exclude talks as a tool for international politics. Some measures of the NATO states may create a new situation, but this cannot remove talks from our arsenal of tools. The correctness of this position was reflected at the meeting of Leonid Brezhnev and Giscard d'Estaing, in the Moscow visit of Chancellor Helmut Schmidt and in the course of other meetings. This principled position was confirmed by the Paris meeting of European communist and workers' parties at the end of April and by the Warsaw meeting of the Political Advisory Body of the Warsaw Pact in the middle of May, which expressed a readiness to conduct talks and come to agreements by confirming earlier positions and making new comprehensive proposals.

It is part of the essence of a socialist society that it never gets into a situation where it cannot initiate a way out of the given crisis with political tools. This was also reflected by the June 1980 letter of Leonid Brezhnev

which he sent, as Soviet chief of state, to the leaders of the NATO member countries. In it he expressed his concern over the seriousness of the situation which had developed but he also expressed that responsibility which the community of socialist countries feels for the peace and security of peoples. For this reason he repeated that we are ready for talks without prior conditions. In the course of practical contacts the Soviet Union and the governments of the other European socialist countries proved that it was possible to continue the policy of talks and agreements.

The responsibility felt for international detente and for ensuring world peace was also expressed by the meeting of leaders of Warsaw Pact member states held in Moscow on 1 December 1980. Reviewing the international situation they spoke with great responsibility of how the arms race had increased in the world, how foci of tension had not been resolved and how new conflicts had arisen. Facing all the factors of reality the participants jointly and unanimously came to the conclusion that "detente, as the leading trend of international development, can be consolidated by the united efforts of all countries and peoples interested in peace, security and international cooperation." We are interested in this so we are committed to detente.

We know very well that the relations of the Soviet Union and the United States play the determining role in the development of the world situation. In the period of the upswing of detente these relations became more orderly, more organized and better founded. In a period of increasing tension these relations became weaker and cooler and certain agreements and understandings were not implemented. Despite all this the countries of the socialist community have no prior reservations and look with expectation to the installation of the new president and administration of the United States and the development of their policy. The governments of the socialist countries do not start from the pronouncements made in the course of the election campaign but rather intend to judge the policy of the new administration of the United States on the basis of deeds and actions. The participants in the Moscow meeting of the Warsaw Pact noted that "in the development of their relations with the United States they are ready to proceed in a constructive spirit, if the new American administration evidences similar behavior." This positive expectation was expressed in the communique issued concerning the 2 December 1980 session of the Central Committee of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party also: "From the viewpoint of relaxing international political and military tension it would be of great significance if the incoming American administration would take a constructive position in questions affecting world peace. The Hungarian People's Republic continues to be ready for the development of contacts with the United States of America on the basis of equality and mutual interests."

On the basis of the facts of recent times it appears that the outgoing Carter administration wants to pass on a negative inheritance to the new president, wants to create an accomplished situation in a series of questions, and wants to influence the program of the new American administration in a cold war spirit. This is suggested by the fact that hardly had Leonid Brezhnev voiced his proposal in India, which--carefully taking into consideration the vital interests of the capitalist world attached to ensuring energy--was directed at resolving in a peaceful way by talks the problems of the middle east area and the Indian Ocean, when Washington immediately rejected the talks initiative. The Carter

administration can no longer lose anything, because it fell in the elections. But more and more of even the western bourgeois politicians are asking: Why does he take it upon himself to immediately pass on to the new administration the serious negative international consequences of his own action?

VI.

The dangerousness of the political practice of this outgoing administration is also reflected in what it did in connection with the events in Poland.

It is well known that for several months the Polish People's Republic has been going through an internal political crisis. Several plenums of the Central Committee of the Polish United Workers' Party have analyzed and disclosed the elements and causes of this serious situation and have striven with responsibility to find a way out. The events in Poland fill the peace loving public opinion of Europe with anxiety. The Polish People's Republic is not a passive spectator of international detente and the consolidation of European security but has always been an active participant in and initiator of them. From the viewpoint of the peoples of Europe it is very important that a strong Poland, standing on firm foundations and developing in a tranquil atmosphere, take part in the implementation of the Helsinki closing document and in the further development of European security on the basis thereof. As friends and allies the socialist countries have stated on several occasions that they are understanding toward the problems of the Polish people; they watch and aid with solidarity the efforts of the Polish United Workers' Party directed at a socialist solution of the crisis. Our countries have also noted with appreciation that for a long time the official government circles in western Europe evidenced responsible, considered and correct behavior in this situation; they recognized in the events factors hiding danger for the situation of Europe as a whole, tried to offer economic aid for a solution of the crisis and cautioned moderation. But in the first half of December there was a dangerous change in their behavior, primarily under the influence of the administration of the United States and the leaders of NATO.

Previously all of Europe accepted with satisfaction the 5 December position of the leaders of the Warsaw Pact member states which confirmed: We trust in the Polish communists and the Polish patriots faithful to socialism and we are convinced that they will find a way out of the crisis to the benefit of socialism and within the community of socialist countries. In general it provoked a positive response throughout Europe that our solidarity is active and considered and takes into consideration the interests of the security and peace of Europe. All this did not please the Carter administration. Two days after the Moscow meeting it reported in a virtually hysterical statement that "Soviet military preparations" were taking place around Poland and an "intervention" in Polish internal affairs was being prepared. The White House felt it necessary to put in that it had summoned advisers and the National Security Council in this matter. A crisis mood was inspired and stirred up from Washington and dramatic appeals were sent to the NATO allies demanding that they proceed in a similar manner.

On 8 December, already, the spokesman for the United States department of state admitted that all this was necessary because western Europe had accepted too optimistically the statement issued about the Moscow meeting. But the fallen

administration of the United States had no need for such optimism, rather it needed to arouse hysteria in western Europe concerning Poland and thus to prevent a positive outcome there.

Under American pressure the customary December ministers' meeting of NATO adopted a document which crudely intervened in the internal affairs of Poland. This intervention is not only illegal but also completely unjustified in that it is based not on facts but rather on conclusions from hypotheses. It reflects irresponsibility amidst circumstances in which one necessarily expects sober, moderate behavior not only from the member countries of the Warsaw Pact but also from the governments of the NATO countries.

Most of the bourgeois ideologists and the directors of a large part of the bourgeois mass media, these inveterate anticommunists, felt that the events in Poland offered them an opportunity which they had to exploit. It is shocking the irresponsibility with which they mislead public opinion under the pretext of analyzing the events and prospects. Such a deceptive campaign can lead to serious consequences for it also affects government figures with the power to make decisions. In addition to the pressure of the American administration the effect of this had a role in the NATO session passing a decision in the cold war spirit. (And this is changed little by the fact that if it had depended on the Carter administration alone the NATO document would have been even more provocative and adventurous.) The events in Poland and the prolongation of the Polish crisis should give no one occasion to develop his position irresponsibly, fed by false illusions. European security would not tolerate it and the fate of the peace of Europe would be in danger if someone should make an attempt to break Poland from the family of the Warsaw Pact. In addition such attempts are doomed to failure in advance. The Polish people have already chosen their path, the fate of this country is intertwined with socialism, its future can be ensured in the family of socialist peoples, in our alliance system. A secure and peaceful Europe presupposes a socialist Poland.

The interests of the peoples of Europe and ensuring the peace of the world demand that every international component contribute with sober consideration and patient behavior to a positive resolution of the events in Poland.

VII.

The question frequently arises in a broad sphere: To whom is detente primarily advantageous? Before all detente is advantageous to mankind, those billions for whom war would mean destruction, suffering and the loss of the bases for life. Thus, therein, it is equally advantageous to the peoples of the socialist and the capitalist countries. In essence detente is equally advantageous to the socialist and the capitalist states too. The allegation that a reduction in international tension favors unilaterally only the socialist countries does not correspond to reality. Detente does not threaten the capitalist system itself; even the international security of the capitalist states could be guaranteed with appropriate agreements in its framework, which is supported by the balance of power consolidated by agreements, by the broad trade, by the cooperation of social forces, etc.

Unambiguously international detente does not favor only the policy of imperialist power superiority or rather those extremely reactionary monopoly capitalist circles

interested in armaments. But over the longer run and in a broader interdependency neither does cold war guarantee advantages to imperialism because it is not capable of changing the international power relationships and in a historical perspective the policy of oppressing other peoples is objectively unmaintainable. Bourgeois propaganda now argues that during the period of detente many changes disadvantageous to them took place in the world. But detente is not the cause of this! It is proper to remind them that earlier, in the 1950's, even in the most dangerous period of the cold war, imperialism suffered great defeats--in this period fell the development of the socialist world system and the beginning of the final breakup of the colonial system. One must think in terms of history who would seek real causes!

For a long time the American leading circles have been inclined to view all the changes taking place in the world in a simplified way, from the viewpoint of whether they favored the Soviet Union or the United States. They have been inclined to see behind every revolutionary or even only national liberation type of change the decision or will of the Soviet Union, the "hand of the Soviet Union." Then--citing the national interests of the United States--they take steps against the concrete revolutionary phenomena, steps which have a global effect, which are directed against the socialist countries too and endanger international security too.

But the revolutionary changes taking place in the various areas of the world are incomparably more complex phenomena than imperialist propaganda would have it appear; they arise on the soil of internal objective processes and neither their eruption nor their conclusion depend on the decision of some sort of external "political centers." Revolutions are not born on order; the socialist countries are not able to either incite or hinder revolutions, nor do they want to, they are not striving for conquest through them or in any other way.... Naturally they hail the revolutionary changes which, over the long run, narrow the base of imperialism and favor the cause of progress and peace. But they also see clearly that revolutions have their effects in a complex international situation and frequently in a way which cannot be foreseen. On the one hand they test the decreased toleration of imperialism; imperialism reacts to their victory with military threats and by increasing tension. On the other hand they are also tests for the socialist countries which can only move to offer aid within certain limits of their economic possibilities. But, on the principled basis of internationalist solidarity, the socialist states will support in every possible way the new revolutionary, democratic systems in their struggle against imperialist intervention.

In judging the behavior of international reaction we must keep in mind that basically they judge their actions on the basis of themselves and try to project their own laws of behavior and political-behavioral motives onto the socialist countries. This is shown by the constantly recurring and recently especially frequently heard argument that one must deal with the socialist countries with a "hard hand" because they "respect only force." In reality the entire history of the international communist movement proves that communists just do not respect the opposing force, or rather they view it entirely differently than does social reaction. If the communists, the socialist countries, had respected force as the imperialist circles think then the communist movement itself would never have come into being, not even to speak of its development and the formation

of the socialist countries--because up until the time after World War II, up until the development of a military power balance between the socialist and the capitalist world systems, the revolutionary movements had to struggle against always oppressive superior force, against it they won their victories and in a significant number of capitalist countries they still fight so now.

The only rational prospect for maintaining the existence and peaceful future of mankind is not power politics but rather a military power balance realized at an ever lower level of armaments and the detente which is based on this, mutual security founded by agreements. The interests of the peoples of Europe and of the world demand that in a situation which is characterized by the simultaneous existence of elements of detente and of tension we should contribute to strengthening and enriching the elements of detente.

8984

CSO: 2500

MILITARY DAILY SCORES DISSIDENT LEADER, PROGRAM

Warsaw ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI in Polish 12 Dec 80 p 2

[Article by Stanislaw Jung: "What Next--Where and For Whom..."]

[Text] Numerous voices of the working people from nearly all walks of life are heard more often and more loudly than before, an expression of a justified concern to impart a socialist character to the process of renovation. Those are the voices demanding intensified effort to foster common good and solid work and to bring about the strengthening of Poland's position and importance in today's world.

The party--the PZPR Central Committee appealed to the entire nation--has irrevocably set the course to restore glory to the ideals of social justice and norms of ethics and morality, and to concern for the great dignity of man.

Today, quiet, discretion and an atmosphere conducive to the creative work of all citizens of our country are undoubtedly needed more than ever before. We need order, organization, discipline and the restoration of the authorities influence. The authorities, it should be remembered, have themselves proclaimed and consistently carried out the policy of repairing the mistakes and shortcomings of the former leadership.

The party, the guiding political force of the people, has called for a common action by all those who genuinely desire to create conditions for a better life for the people.

The party has addressed everyone.

But does this appeal really fall on fertile soil everywhere and with every person? Do all the citizens of our country really set themselves the same goals?

The first secretary of the Central Committee of PZPR, Comrade Stanislaw Kania, cited an excerpt from a different program in his concluding speech at the Seventh Plenum of the Central Committee. The program that was worked out by one of the leading representatives of the KOR [Committee for the Defense of the Workers] is contradictory to the one adopted by the party and the entire people. The program envisions a catastrophic image of the collision of two trains rolling toward each other on the very same track on the territory of the People's Republic of Poland. One of the two trains is to be governed by the schedule issued by superior authority; the other by a drastically different schedule "fixed in a democratic way by railway workers or passengers."

Let there be any ambiguity, this second train, according to the program assumptions of the aforementioned KOR leader, must be nothing else than the independent trade unions.

Here one is entitled to ask himself a question! What is the passenger's opinion, if not of the two trains, then at least of the latter train? Do they at least have an idea of what fate this self-styled, nearly insane ideolog may have in store for them as a result of such a collision? Do they consciously accept that fate?

However, at this point we have to call certain persons and phenomena by their proper names.

The author of the train collision tactic is none other than Dr Jacek Kuron. His recommendations are laid down in the emigré newspaper published in London. DZIENNIK POLSKI, DZIENNIK ZOLNIERZA. The article with a program entitled "What Next" has been reprinted and circulated in our country by illegal publications.

Again, this invites an irresistible question. What could the intentions of this ideolog, a KOR activist, be if he decided to lay down his--and, as one can judge not without apprehension, not only his--personal instructions for the citizens of our country in an emigré newspaper, put out in the West?

Does this fact not have a very peculiar odor? Does it not appear to be an attempt to drag into our Polish internal situation alien, non-Polish forces (we do not call them "hostile" in order not to overuse this term)?

Is a Polish citizen right--assuming that he really holds dear and close to his heart the cause of national existence--to choose an alien, foreign, Western forum to speak out, to counsel and to steer the society, from which he, after all, has not excluded himself, in the mainstream of which he desires to act?

But in the final analysis even this is not the most important issue.

Let us follow the line of Jacek Kuron's instructions--exactly "what next," as he asks in the title of his message in an emigré dispatch to the people in the country.

His directives, aimed at weakening the authorities and breaking up the state structures, are especially dangerous today, when appeals for law and order are being made so strongly.

Meanwhile, what dream is Jacek Kuron entertaining? He writes, and I quote:

"The weaker the authority becomes and at the same time--which is almost identical--the more incapable of adjusting its policy to the situation, the more radical the democratization movement will become."

So, this is something quite contrary to what we have read in the resolutions of the Seventh Plenum to the effect that it was precisely the party and the people's power that desired and created with the utmost consistency the conditions for an authentic democratization, while at the same time ensuring fully its socialist character!

Kuron goes on to specify in his "What Next" in no uncertain terms:

"To radicalize in this case means to turn directly against the authority, against its political structures."

So as an answer to the "what next" question posed in the title of the KOR leader's program statement, we are offered a completely revealed main goal of all political designs and organizational actions. There is nothing to add in this regard.

The democratization and radicalization of the democratizing movement, according to the program assumptions of the KOR leader, will become further on a battering ram breaking up the people's power, instead of supporting and strengthening that power, and making it authentic--power by the people, embodying the interests of the people.

These indications regarding tactics, and also those of the author that very unequivocally expose his intentions, should be remembered.

The fact of the existence of the people's power in Poland robs the author of "What Next" of his peace of mind, as one may infer from reading the program. Later on, in his cynical conclusions, he mentions again the trends of our society which, having been born on the wave of renewal--in the party, society and state--are intensifying, specifying and personifying this renewal.

Kuron, as the content of the article suggests, means unequivocally--and he mentions the steps in order--"the independent trade unions, workmen's and local self-government, the autonomy of science and culture "

"What Next"--what is Kuron ordering them to do?

Unable to take a complete leave of reality, he grieves with the ultimate cynicism: "This movement cannot stipulate the toppling of the political power. However, by its very existence and by the institutions it will create it will make demands for this power."

The nature of the demands suggested by Kuron is left to one's imagination, given that it is not possible to demand point-blank that the power be toppled!

We have quoted enough...

A question irresistibly must occur to every reader--if this is next, what will the final destination be.

Probably not socialism, at any rate.

And if this is next--then who?

At any rate, not the adherents of socialism.

9761

CSO: 2600

HISTORY JOURNAL ON DISCORD AMONG HISTORIANS AT BUCHAREST CONGRESS

Bucharest ANALE DE ISTORIE in Romanian No 4 Sep-Oct 80 pp 9-17

[Article: "A New Stage in the Development of Historical Science—The 15th International Congress of Historical Sciences"]

[Excerpts] The 15th International Congress of Historical Sciences took place in Bucharest between 10 and 17 August 1980. Some 2,715 participants from 66 countries, the largest number of countries ever represented at a history congress, were registered for the Congress. Historians from the People's Republic of China and the Socialist Republic of Vietnam and from a large number of developing countries in Africa and Latin America participated for the first time in a history congress. Some 747 Romanian specialists participated in the Congress.

In general, the discussions were characterized by an open climate and an academic spirit and the participants appreciated the conditions created by the hosts for a sincere, free dialogue, one of complete intellectual freedom. The Romanian historians gave well-documented, objective replies to participants in the Congress who made inexact, sometimes tendentious assertions in regard to different moments in the history of our country. Historians from other countries were constantly supporting the Romanian specialists.

Although there were efforts to impose unscientific views, which were not in accordance with historic reality and with achievements in historiography, and some historians pleaded for false causes, for ambiguous historic situations, transforming themselves from scholars into circumstantial advocates of certain states of affairs, in general, there were very few polemic moments or strident situations at the Bucharest Congress, a fact which was not able to alter the constructive, lively nature of the debates which were often conflicting but carried on in a scientific framework.

The history of the Romanian people occupied a large place in the proceedings of the Congress through the active contribution of both Romanian specialists and foreign specialists. Many of the foreign historians demonstrated a profound knowledge of events in the history of our country, portraying them in the light of historic truth; in contrast to these were the positions of some historians who, ignoring realities, upheld obsolete, false and unscientific theses.

IMPROVED OUT-PATIENT CARE TOP PRIORITY FOR 1981

Bucharest MUNCITORUL SANITAR in Romanian 3 Jan 81 p 3

[Interview with Prof Dr Docent Eugen Proca, minister of health, by Prof Dr Benone Dutescu]

[Excerpts] Question: What are your views on the proper use of hospital beds?

Answer: There are two principal aspects: the adaptation of the bed network to the real needs of medical care, by reducing the number of beds set aside for diseases whose incidence is on the decline and using them for other maladies for which hospitalization is necessary and by eliminating unjustified hospitalization such as for routine analyses; in many hospitals there is still a great misuse of radiography and other analysis procedures.

Question: What do you consider to be the priority problem which requires perseverant action in order to improve medical care?

Answer: The priority problem is out-patient care, an area in which we still have shortcomings which justify the complaints of the population. Through out-patient care we must develop activities for treating the healthy person and intensifying the activity of preventing and combatting illnesses.

Question: What concrete provisions does the 1981 plan of measures of the Ministry of Health set forth in this regard?

Answer: The most complete examination of the sick in the polyclinic dispensaries, with recommendations in regard to hospitalization, and the ensuring of the obligatory transmittal of medical records to the hospitals sections, for the best possible utilization of the time during which the sick person is hospitalized; the expansion of the capacity of the out-patient units in the municipalities and cities to provide treatment at home by the utilization of nurses from the dispensaries and the polyclinic dispensaries; the introduction in the clinical laboratories of new techniques and methods for paraclinical examination, the standardization of laboratory methods and the improvement of examinations and of therapeutic effectiveness. We will also monitor, with maximum attention, on-the-job medical care, the proper distribution of socialist units in the medical dispensaries, and the polyclinic and hospital dispensaries with a view to increasing the accessibility of medical care for workers; the assurance of continuing medical care in

the communes simultaneously with a work program in the dispensaries which would completely satisfy the needs of the people; the organization of out-patient units alongside the commune hospitals.

Question: What concrete measures are envisaged for improving the quality of medical care?

Answer: I will list some: the utilization of all educational forms for increasing the responsibility and the professional training of all who work in the field of health care. We will place greater emphasis on developing and perfecting emergency care at all levels. We must not become prisoners of the hospital equipment. While severely criticizing those who violate the highly-demanding ethical norms set for our professional conduct we will also cite those who work with self-sacrifice.

The discipline boards for health personnel, both on the central and the county levels, will not tolerate violations and will initiate effective actions to prevent them.

The Ministry of Health will be undertaking studies and operational research in regard to the situation of the material base and of cadres in the country with a view to distributing them more equitably in relation to specific needs and prospects for economic and social development throughout the country. We are also concerned with finding the most viable methods for training specialists, especially since, at present, there is no equitable distribution of specialists throughout the country.

CSO: 2700

OUTPUT, EXPORTS OF ARMAMENT INDUSTRY REVIEWED

Belgrade NEDELJNE INFORMATIVNE NOVINE in Serbo-Croatian No 1564, 21 Dec 80
pp 17-19

[Article by Stevan Korda: "From the Rifle to the Laser"]

[Text] The military-political situation in the world is complicated and uncertain, and there is reason to make maximum effort to prepare our society for the best possible defense. This was stated at a meeting of the Committee for National Defense in the Federal Chamber of the Yugoslav Assembly on 10 December of this year. The delegates concluded that in the coming 5-year period the Yugoslav People's Army must be oriented primarily toward modernization of armament and military equipment. Even though total funds which it will have will be reduced somewhat, it was said that more funds than up to now would be allocated for those purposes to the armed forces. In this modernization, the delegates unanimously stressed, the YPA [Yugoslav People's Army] would mainly rely on our own resources, on domestic industry.

These guidelines are entirely in the spirit of Tito's ideas. The commander in chief of our armed forces always required that we base our defense as much as possible on our own resources. Under his leadership we have achieved enviable results in precisely that area. Two-thirds of the resources required by our armed forces are manufactured by Yugoslav industry. Our designers and manufacturers have already created exceptionally successful models of various weapons which are equal in every respect to similar achievements of the most advanced countries. This can be seen from the fact that today we are even very successful in the export of weapons.

The nonaligned countries are the most frequent customers for our weapons. They are buying them not only because we are equal partners, because we do not impose political conditions and because we do not engage in various pressures. Often the reason is the quality.

A Cannon Which Is Winning Medals

A few years ago an Arab country on the shore of the Persian Gulf announced an international competition for the purchase of multiple-barrel antiaircraft guns. The best-known manufacturers of such weapons presented bids--from Sweden and Switzerland to France and Italy. Five or six automatic guns were installed at emplacements near the seacoast--on sandy soil and in the tropical heat. The firing conditions were horrible both for the guns and for the gunners. Following these field tests the rich host decided to purchase the gun which had the best pattern of hits and had fired without delays. All the rest had occasional failures. Believe it or not, the winning gun was manufactured in Yugoslavia. Light antiaircraft guns manufactured in series by Yugoslav factories are even today part of the armament of that country.

This is a gun which is also well known by our own soldiers. Wherever the units of our armed forces have conducted exercises and maneuvers one can see the small three-barrel guns on the march or at firing positions. These are the three-barrel M-55 20-mm antiaircraft guns. They have been in series production in our country since 1955. Nevertheless, there is a tremendous difference between the guns in the first series and those in this most recent series, which has just been included in our armament. Our designers have not been sleeping. They have gradually refined their gun, particularly the sights. At first these were bare barrels with a graticule sight, and the gun crew had to move the gun by their own power as they followed the target in the air. But today this gun has a sighting device which is the last word in technology in this field. There is a motor on the carriage, and the gun can be trained so fast that it is difficult for even the fastest aircraft to elude it. The gun's theoretical firing rate is 700 to 800 rounds per minute from each barrel, which means at least 2,100 rounds from the entire three-barrel gun. Antiaircraft guns of similar caliber recalled by the generation of fighters from World War II were able to fire a maximum of 300 rounds per minute per barrel, or 1,200 from four barrels. Our gun fires almost twice as many from three barrels. The gun crew of four is sufficient to put this gun in firing position from marching position in 30 seconds.

In this three-barrel gun, which fires with the rate of a machinegun, our army has a powerful defensive weapon, since it is effective in hitting airplanes in the air and armored combat vehicles on the ground. This is truly an excellent gun, one which does honor to our engineers and the workers who manufactured it, including the steelworkers who cast the steel for its barrels. We can say with pride that the Yugoslav steel for making the barrels of firearms is among the best in the world.

That is what also makes the excellent quality of our rifles--beginning with the "fast-firing rifles from Kragujevac" (official designation M-48), via the already well-known semiautomatic rifle, to the most recent automatic one. These are reliable, accurate and durable rifles.

We can say with pride that a team of extraordinary specialists in internal ballistics has grown up in Yugoslavia--and this is the science which gives a rifle or gun its soul. One might say that a "Yugoslav school" of internal ballistics has been created. It began to come into being some 34 years ago, when it was decided to commence production of artillery guns in Yugoslavia--in a country which up to that time had not made modern cannon.

The most difficult problem for the designers and manufacturers was the requirement of exclusive use of domestic raw materials. Nevertheless, this problem was solved. Under the leadership of Lt Col (later Col) Eng Bosko Stanisavljevic, an excellent specialist in internal ballistics who also has been a university professor, this task was performed successfully. The B-1 gun, which is today a legend, was created. Bosko Stanisavljevic's followers have created and are creating new cannons and howitzers, and the most recent 152-mm cannon-howitzer is a true masterpiece of contemporary artillery engineering. Neither the Russians nor the Americans could make anything better.

Ten Thousand Atmospheres

More than three decades ago, when we began, the B-1 cannon, a 76-mm mountain artillery gun, was a great achievement of our steel industry and armament industry, since the steel for the barrels of artillery guns must meet specifications which are not required even of the steel for machine tools. The pressures in artillery barrels go as high as 4,000 atmospheres, and during production they go as high as 10,000. Cannon cannot be manufactured by anyone who cannot make steel that tough.

The first cannon manufactured in Yugoslavia were introduced into armament in 1950. The first naval vessels, which were altogether up-to-date for the time, were built in Yugoslavia in 1951. Comrade Tito was very happy and proud when on 21 May 1950 he was able to turn over to our pilots an entire group of new fighter planes manufactured in our own factories. It is true that these were airplanes with piston engines and propellers, but as early as 25 October 1952 the first jet aircraft designed and manufactured in Yugoslavia took off. At the May Day parade in 1950 six tanks made in Mladenovac (with cannons from Kragujevac) passed down the streets of Belgrade. In 1953 rifles manufactured in Yugoslavia were joined by automatic rifles and also machineguns, which are also the work of our own hands.

These were all modest beginnings. About three decades have passed since that time. The productive capabilities of our industry have grown, and the creative forces of our designers are also greater. On the ground our battalions and regiments have everything from clothing and equipment to the most up-to-date weapons, all of domestic manufacture. On the sea we today have very fast naval vessels armed with missiles which were built in our shipyards. In the air are training planes and fighter-bombers--also of domestic manufacture. At present only supersonic aircraft for the fighter-interceptor force are purchased abroad. Certain long-range missiles are

also purchased, but the shorter range guided missiles--for antiarmor and antiair defense--are manufactured in Yugoslavia. We are also successfully mastering missile engineering. It is well known that we are even capable of manufacturing tanks, and the question of whether we will undertake this job depends only on a decision of those in positions of authority, on their assessment of economic capabilities and of military needs.

The Magic Word: Laser

We long ago mastered the production of radio transmitters and receivers for communication in our armed forces. We are also producing certain radars, and our soldiers also have at their disposition "the eyes of an owl"--devices for nighttime observation and sighting--manufactured in Yugoslavia.

The list of what we are producing ourselves to meet the needs of our defense is a long one and is not all for publication. We still have to pull a veil of military secrecy over some products and certain parts. Nor is there space here for some things, since they require quite extensive explanation.

Nevertheless, all of this is what one might call standard, a level that is well known. The cannon, including even automatic cannon, rifles, jet airplanes and even tanks if you like--all of those are conventional weapons. This is not that newest and most modern thing, the thing which is exciting the imagination of the average newspaper reader. What is the situation, for example, with lasers?

Yes, it is true, one hears the word laser ever more frequently in contemporary armed forces. Scientific and technological journals, as well as scientific fiction publications, have lost the monopoly they once had on this word. Today the soldiers of many armies are not only pronouncing the word, but they are indeed using various devices in which a laser has been installed.

It is first of all a question of laser rangefinders. Today these are devices which measure distances to objectives most quickly and accurately in the artillery and armored units, in the navy and in the air force. A tank crew which has a laser rangefinder can hit its target--an enemy tank--with the first shell, rather than only with the second or third. Ten tanks with laser rangefinders can successfully fight 30 tanks which lack such devices. Thanks to the laser rangefinder, the tank crew can fire successfully on an adversary twice as far away and consequently open up accurate lethal fire sooner. Any cannon equipped with a laser rangefinder also has this same advantage.

We have these laser rangefinders, we are manufacturing them, and we are even exporting them. In this field we have not been lagging behind even the most advanced countries in the world. We have even overtaken certain countries more advanced than we are.

Today it is not enough to have only a laser rangefinder. In the near future nearly every tank and artillery unit will have them. That tank or cannon will have the advantage in combat whose laser rangefinder is connected to an electronic computer to form an automatic fire control system. Our laser experts, our scientists and engineers, including also the manufacturers, are keeping pace with even the most advanced in this most modern field of automatic fire control.

There are already lasers in the world for guiding bombs or missiles to targets, there is talk about the laser as a weapon and also about laser countermeasures. It is worth keeping pace with all this and one should be informed about everything. Yugoslavs know more about lasers than anyone might think. In Yugoslavia there are now so many exceptional experts for lasers and for their future development that we simply have been unable to employ them, especially some 15 or even 10 years ago, when we were both poorer and less advanced. It does happen that at many universities and in the best-known scientific laboratories in the world Yugoslavs are listened to about lasers. A scientist concerned with the refinement of lasers cannot bypass names such as Professor Stojcev, Dr Zupancic, or the discoverer of the omega meson Bogdan Maglic, who is already famous, Dr Veljko Radeka, and so on. They were all educated in Yugoslavia and maintain good connections with their countries. But today our young laser specialists will not have to go abroad. There will be plenty of work for them to do here.

Keeping Up With the Times

The first laser went into operation in Yugoslavia in 1964, just 3 years after the first laser in the world. We made laser rangefinders for military purposes before many people in Europe. Nor will we be behind the times in the future.

It is worthwhile to keep up with the development of lasers. Over the last two decades of this century they will bring the greatest surprises to humanity and will bring about large changes. It will pay to keep up during that period. In military jargon: it pays to "keep your eye on" them.

Lasers are, of course, important, but they are not the most important. They are only one component. Our designers have just completed the development of a computer-laser system for an antiaircraft gun. This is a day-night sighting device with a laser, digital computer, electrohydraulic power operation and gyrostabilizer. The last word in present-day technology. If we figure as exporters of equipment like that, we will not have to be ashamed before any manufacturer of similar technology in the world. It appears that we are doing a good job of keeping pace with the contemporary advance of military technology. In those areas where we want to and where we can. In that area where we do not at present have the capability--we will make purchases, since even the most highly developed countries also make purchases (the USSR and the United States also are making purchases). But the most important thing is that we ourselves are producing and will continue to produce the major portion of what we need. We have reasons for looking with confidence at our abilities to arm ourselves for the needs of defense by our own efforts.

LIFESTYLE OF INDOLENT YOUNG BELGRADERS EXPLORED

Congregating Near University Building

Belgrade OMLADINSKE NOVINE in Serbo-Croatian 25 Nov 80 pp 20-21

[Article by Miroslav Petkovic, Bozidar Jofic, and Dusan Gamser]

[Text] "Some sort of new dirty types," who gather in front of the Philosophy Department building in Belgrade every evening, consider that by their getting together they are protesting against school and family. They do not consider themselves to be either punks or dudes, but neither do they regard themselves as members of the League of Socialist Youth. They say that the League of Socialist Youth is not a youth organization, and therefore they do not belong to its ranks. This self-expulsion and apolitical stand of these types is certainly a phenomenon that rates our attention, without moralizing and disqualification of their position.

The square in front of the Philosophy Department building is the chief meeting place of the young people who belong to specific "marginal" categories that are not interested in the official culture, and even less in discotheques, fashion and other falsities. The square satisfies the need for gathering and spontaneous friendships.

In the way of a historical introduction: In ancient Greece, the square was one of the most important places in the city. On it commerce was conducted, poets and philosophers contended, life went on from morning until darkness. The Greek classical tradition was renewed to a degree in the renaissance city. Its descendant, however, the modern megapolis, has trampled many of the remnants of that gathering tradition, guided by the logic of transforming all direct human relationships into the indirect buying and selling relationship. Thus commerce has occupied the centers of practically all large cities in the world. Since then, people only come to the city center for purchases or to look at the displays. The city dweller, hopelessly torn between the "refuge" of his nuclear family, the "basic social unit," and his public function as a buyer and seller, guided by the slogan that "time is money," finds very little sense in spontaneous public gathering and friendships. Every lingering in the center of town that is not related to buying and selling (of either goods or politics) becomes objectionable. unworthy, unseemly, and senseless. In order to reduce "accidental" encounters of people to the lowest possible level, travel to the city center is done by automobile, so that the squares become big parking lots. People gather in massive numbers on the squares only at holidays and for political demonstrations.

Nevertheless, in some places the culture of gathering has been preserved. In small Yugoslav towns people gather on the squares every morning. In the evening, the young people also gather there, but in a now thoroughly alienated form of the corso.

A great shift came with the 1960s. Youth movements that rejected all basic civil values also began to question the reigning attitude toward the city, particularly toward its streets and squares. The squares are becoming the meeting places of the young and a significant catalyst of their counterculture sensibilities. Young dropouts from the affluent society are gathering on the Dam in Amsterdam, at London's Trafalgar and Piccadilly, at the Spanish Square in Rome.

[Inset] A "Punker"

Punkers are not very frequent visitors to the square in front of the Philosophy Department building. We found only one there. He was distrusting, and we barely managed to drag the answers to the seven questions out of him we were asking others. He said that he was 18 years old, he was a school boy, and that his nickname was Kora.

"I rarely come to the Philosophy Department square. And if I come, it is for the discotheque. My friends gather at the Moskva Hotel in the park. There we talk and fool around. We have had some problems with the law. They accused us of writing some anticommunist slogans on the walls. However, it turned out that we didn't. It was probably some fools who did. We also have problems with the roughnecks. Sometimes we resist them. I have nothing against dope addicts, but in principle I am opposed to drugs. The straight phoneys are repulsive and stupid. As far as sex is concerned, I am for normal love, but I have nothing against homosexuals. Why am I dressed like this. Punk interested me as a movement and as music. I play in a punk group. I am dissatisfied with life. I don't like the clothing fashions either. The young people do not have any place to go. There are not enough small halls for concerts, and the prices for movies and the theater are too high. The young people do not have enough chances to express themselves creatively...."

[Main text] Even Subversion Brings Profit

The counterculture of youth did not, however, long remain outside the mold of capital relationships. Its most distinctive musical form, rock, was very quickly assimilated by the burgeoning disco-industry. The free Woodstock was replaced by expensive discotheques and expensive concerts in small stadiums and halls, while on the previously mentioned great squares the flowers, guitars and protest songs have become a cheap tourist attraction. Having mastered rock music, the disco industry gradually transformed it. In order to increase its profits, it had to increase both the degree and the quality of its manipulation of its listeners. From rock as a music of protest, by this strange transformation disco music became the music of oblivion. Travolta's commandment to "toil 5 days, but on Saturday to be the emperor of the disco" is leading thousands of young people into the refuge of the discotheque heaven, with working clothes, brilliantined hair, laser lights, disco sounds supplemented by video projections and numerous other gaudy lies.

Naturally, along with the flourishing of disco music came its countercultural negation in the form of punk. It appeared outside the disco industry, in small clubs in the poor workers suburbs of English cities, full of unemployed and pauperized young people without futures. Punk represented the negation of traditional values, among which already fall the values of rock culture, at least partly.

In Yugoslavia the disco industry began to succeed in assimilating rock rather late, and still has not completed the process. Having created willy nilly a sort of disco market and a series of artificial needs, it sold the market that which paid the best, imported goods, the imported disco sound. Thus in Yugoslavia too, the discotheques are sprouting as places for alienated entertainment for the manipulated segments of working youth and a significant number of middle-level children of technocrats, the straight phoneys. The adherents of punk who sporadically appear (chiefly in Slovenia, Croatia, and Vojvodina) will never take deeper root among us to become worthy competitors with the disco tide. The reasons for the poor success of punk here in Yugoslavia so far are quite unclear, but the negative stance of most of the established press might be mentioned (along with part of the youth press); there are also significant and well-concealed layers of the patriarchal morals still remaining (the sound of "I am for free male love" will still be repugnant to the Balkan man). In addition, we still cling to the habit of enjoying music, of living out our unrealized dreams (largely romantic ones) through it. But instead of sighs, punk offers spittle. It is two minutes of chaos, instead of 20 minutes of perfect musical performance that still is preferred by the ruling civil taste.

The "Marginal Element" has Come Out Onto the Street

Under the circumstances of the unresolved contradictions between aggressive disco and bashful punk, "the good old days," which are still not completely established, continue to find a large public that is dissatisfied with both disco and punk. Naturally, it exists in an ambivalent form, both as a reserve for flight from mundane work, school and family triviality and as a medium of protest against that status. Therefore it is no surprise that the only discotheque in Belgrade, the Club FF, where rock music clearly dominates, has become a heavily attended and popular place among both older and younger devotees of rock. By accident or not, this rock discotheque aided the birth of the square.

The small piazza in front of the new Philosophy Department building, opened in 1974, was long empty. The students of the Philosophy Department had long been unaccustomed to gathering publicly, while the middle-aged petti-bourgeois passers-by from Knez Mihajlo Street found it much more interesting to look at the displays, rather than to linger in the square. To them the square was not even necessary, nor would it ever be. When the designer of the square was probably already starting to tear his hair, the young visitors to the Club FF saved the day. Coming four times a week to the discotheque and to other programs at the Club, they began to linger for longer times in the square in front of the Philosophy Department. Increased prices for admission and discrimination upon entry for high school students (who had to show passes), as well as the fact that during the summer and for 3 days each week the disco was closed, also contributed to the phenomenon. The discotheque became increasingly less essential, while the square became the truly important thing. Now the square at the Philosophy Department is the chief gathering place for those young people in Belgrade who belong to specific

"marginal" categories, who are not particularly interested in the cultural content offered by official city culture, while being even less interested in discotheques, high fashion and other facades. The square satisfies at least one of the basic cultural needs of these young people, the need to gather together and make spontaneous friendships.

[Inset] Fear of the Grubby Ones

Since we had heard that all sorts of things were being said about the square in front of the Philosophy Department, we tried to find out what the "ordinary" passers-by thought about it. Yelling from afar "We are reporters from the newspaper OMLADINSKE NOVINE, we tried to stop some of the older passers-by. A businessman with an attache case in his hand simply waved us off scornfully and continued on. Two middle-aged couples silently hastened away. If they are so afraid of grubby and bearded reporters, how much more they must fear the other young people here, we asked ourselves. Finally, a middle-aged woman stopped, while her frightened husband pulled her by the hand and warned her that they should hurry home. She told us, "My son comes here too. He is a student and has no money to go elsewhere. I have heard that at some discos they pay 30,000 (old dinars?) for admission. They are good children. They sit and do not bother anyone. I live nearby and I do not think they make much noise. The traffic bothers me more than they do."

Two young passers-by, obviously from an entirely different world from that of the people who gather in front of the Philosophy Department building, were more critical:

Olja, a high school student, 18: "Yes, if you like, I am a straight type, although I don't like labels like that. I think these people here are repulsive. Their horsing around, not their long hair, bothers me. I have even gone out with some long-hair boyfriends. It is true that there are lots of junkies among the straights, but they don't horse around like these kids here, they are real drug addicts. These kids here could get their hair cut and dress nicely, and then let them take drugs if they want. No one will touch them. I dress according to fashion, I think one should follow fashion."

Svetlana, a student of psychology, 20: "They are not very different from us. I think they come out of habit. It seems terribly hermetic to me, a people unto themselves. They do nothing but keep silent. I have heard that some of them take drugs. I just don't see where they get so much time to waste. I don't like some of the types that always come here, they are so gloomy. In general I like rock too, but I don't hang around here."

[Main text] Every evening, summer and winter, when it is clear and when the rain falls and the wind blows, there are at least a hundred people on the square. At times there are as many as a thousand. They are chiefly newcomers, "some sort of new, dirty newcomers." The old timers, those who cleared this place, opened and brought life to this square, are fewer and fewer. The rare examples that remain are the chief idols of this square. Some of them have the longest hair, and yet the newcomers drive them away. Some of them are regarded as wise, as being well versed in Indian and other philosophies, yet they are driven off by just as "wise" females. There are mystics, philosophers, musicians and others around. More precisely, they were here, but more and more they are fleeing

because the newcomers that are straight phoneys and horseplay types bother them. The old freaks flee, but the newcomers stay. The newcomers protect themselves and one another, and gather in small groups, although they all more or less know each other. Every evening in front of the Philosophy Department building some sort of happening unfolds, with someone always running, someone shouting, cursing, calling.... In short, everything that is forbidden in the classroom or at home is allowed here. Even the very possibility of telling about some move after a girl or some fights has great meaning, for in more than one parental home those are taboo themes.

About 9 o'clock the square begins to empty. Some go home, some to the Kolarac Workers University area or to the Kraljica (cafe?), while a few go to the Kalis area to smoke marijuana. The next evening at about 6 or 7 o'clock, they are back again.

The Apolitical Political Position

All of them are peaceful. For years there has not been a fight on the square in front of the Philosophy Department building. That is sort of a distant echo of the hippie idea, that they are carrying on into the ninth decade of this century. That peace is broken at times by the roughnecks. Recently, there have been provocations, and even small fights. Naturally, one knows who usually comes up on the short end. Where there are roughnecks, there are their negations as well. Their appearance thus has become the cause for the presence of the police on the square all evening long. Nevertheless, the reasons were of a different nature. The police chiefly legitimize and diligently keep watch on the quietest people (who are the most tattered and dirty), who are thus the most dangerous, while they have no notion of watching the roughnecks. These others simply disperse when they see a uniform, and then come again when there are no police. The police apparently always arrive too late to prevent a fight, but are always there when it is time to mistreat those who have been drinking, or have in some other way been restless, according to the complaints of many who visit the square. Here there is probably some fear of such a mass of young people who have rejected all the recommended models for entertainment and gathering. And many think that everything that is outside of control represents a latent danger for society. Apparently the police do not know that in Belgrade a convincing majority of the dope addicts are among the straight phoneys, and that the roughnecks are the chief pushers. But then, why would they know that, for the straight phoneys are good mamas' and papas' children, always clean, well groomed and scented, and dressed in the latest fashion. They do not upset public order and peace by their appearance.

As far as the newcomers themselves are concerned, the extent to which they have made the square an oasis of peace, love, friendship and good vibrations, is also the extent to which they have been tranquilized in the false security that it offers every evening, and the extent to which they are apolitical. All critical attitudes are exhausted in reviling the family and the school. They do not go any further, and there are very few who think seriously about their position in society. There are even some who think that any type of involvement in politics is a priori bad and dirty. The question as to whether the activities of their youth organizations offers them cause for such attitudes is a separate topic. Yet the fact remains that almost all of them are members of the League of Socialist

Youth, and almost in all cases, they are members only on paper. They mention boring meetings at which the topics and the discussants are known in advance, and at which in addition they are afraid to express their opinions openly. Among these newcomers it has even become shameful to go to youth organization meetings.

Nevertheless, there is a significant act of social protest in this phenomenon that satisfies a cultural need for gathering and making friends on the square, and staying at this place despite the aggressive roughnecks, the suspicious police, and the aversion of middle-aged petti-bourgeois passers-by. True, they only come during their free time, for 2-3 hours a day. Passivism once more prevails when it is time to head home and to school. Yet it is not impossible to take the criticism of school from the pavement in front of the Philosophy Department building into the school itself, or to take criticism of family into the family itself.

Offhand Survey Responses

Belgrade OMLADINSKE NOVINE in Serbo-Croatian 25 Nov 80 p 21

[Responses to questions asked by Miroslav Petkovic, Bozidar Jovic and Dusan Gamser]

[Text] We went to the square in front of the Philosophy Department building several evenings and asked the following seven questions:

Why do you come here, and do you visit the Club FF?

[Answers:] Anonymous 17 year old: "Hey, I'm not going to tell you."

Ivan, student, 23: "This is sort of the key point in my movements around town; wherever I go I stop by here."

Jovan, student, 19: "Four times a week I go to the discotheque, and always to this one on Philosophy Department Square. A man is freer here than in other discos, where there are too many roughnecks. If I acted as I do in other discos, they would point the finger at me, and probably I would be beaten up. This is the only place where you can listen to rock."

Meri, a school boy, 17: "I come here largely to chase females. This is definitely the best place in town. I go to the Club, often."

Seca, a school girl, 17: "I come often, largely because of my friends. Last night I didn't because of the rain, so I came just to see my friends."

Maki, a recruit, 18: "I am here so often I should get a pension."

[Question No 2:] "What do you do here, and what do you think of the others who come?"

Anonymous: "Everybody here is horsing around. They think that they are hippies just because they dress that way. They are also just newcomers."

Jovan: "Here most people think with their heads. I am among that number. Still, most of those here are just here to show themselves."

Meri: "Oh, I chase the girls some."

Gnjaca, a school girl, 15: "I have good vibes and meet male friends. Afterward I don't go anywhere, except to the Kilas when the weather is good."

Mirjana, a law student, 23: "Actually, I talk about music. Others come to meet somebody."

Tanja, a student of economics, 19: "Well, people sit and smoke, while others probably come for the action between sexes."

Peca, a student, 20: "Here the chief topic of conversation is music. Most of the people here are fooling, because they have no notion of what music is."

[Question No 3:] "What do your parents and other family think about this square?"

Meri: "My parents are upset. They think the same thing as these cops, that we are all dope addicts. But that does not prevent me from coming here, even though we often argue about it. They suggest that I sit at home and play chess with some fool."

Gnjaca: "The old folks know that I come here. The older people in general do not like Philosophy Department Square."

Jasna, a primary school girl, 14: "They don't really like that I come here, but they think that it is all right for me to dress like this."

Maki: "My folks are super. They know that I come here, but they don't have anything against it."

Jovan: "As far as the cops and their attitude toward the people here, I would cite Jack Nicholson in "Bare in the Saddle," 'They constantly talk about freedom, but they become frightened when they see a really free man'."

[Question No 4:] "Why are you wearing that style of clothes?"

Mirjana: "Once I was a straight type, but now, even if I had more money I would not return to that. These people here are natural, but with the straight types there is nothing to talk about. They only talk about shoes, fur coats and things like that."

Maki: "I am a rocker. I would never get into fashionable clothes and ties. I will always dress like I have dressed until now. I don't like cliches and falsities. I like the phoney straight types the least, they are mamas' children and smell of false make-up. You can't talk with them. I have nothing against the "punks," but I am not into that. The punks are for anarchy, but I am for love and a world of equality."

Gnjaca: "I am a self-made hippy. In Yugo there are no real hippies. I listen to hard rock: Dorney (sic) and Deep Purple."

Biljana, a school girl, 15: "I don't like order and mamas' girls. I believe in God, the Christian one. You ask whether that coincides with my way of life. I don't know, I haven't thought about that. I wear a cross with a circle around my neck. That is the Egyptian symbol of life and peace. And I am for life and peace."

[Question No 5:] "What do you think about sex, drugs and other taboo topics?"

Gnjaca: "Drugs don't attract me. I haven't seen that that was worthwhile here. I know some straight phoneys who take drugs. I don't think about sex. There is time for that later, and so far I haven't met any man who excites me." (Later we saw that Gnjaca hanging around one of the dark entries along Cika Ljubina Street.)

Biljana: "You ask whether anything here is worthwhile? What is worthwhile? Who is worthwhile? Sex is the best thing in the world, but fags are fools."

Meri: "I have nothing against joints. I like to smoke some myself, but a fix--no way. My friends, straight phoneys that gather at the Majestic hotel, smoke more joints than I, but nobody bothers them. That is the psychology of people, it disturbs them that someone has long hair."

Peca: "Everyone thinks that drugs are distributed here, but it is chiefly the straight phoneys that take drugs. The cops never touch them. They think that just if you have long hair and listen to rock music, you must be a junkie."

Seca: "The attitude of parents toward drugs is not completely right. That is not as much of a bugaboo as they think. But it doesn't matter to me personally."

Maki: "I have tried some crap, but that is not something that interests me much. I don't hate the junkies. Sex is a normal thing. I have super parents, I can bring girls home whenever I want. As far as homos are concerned, if I knew one of them I would smash him."

[Question No 6:] "What do you think of the upheaval by young people in Switzerland?"

Maki: "You ask about Switzerland? I have heard they have a lot of punk lovers there."

Gnjaca: "I haven't any notion about Switzerland...But if they revolt, then they are smart."

Zeljka, a school girl, 15: "I don't know....A revolt, did they revolt? Well then we should revolt too. But how can I revolt when nobody is revolting. If everyone else revolted, then I would too."

Anonymous: "I don't know anything about Switzerland. I seldom read the papers. Once I read about the Wends. I am for Wendism. (sic) But in Belgrade none of that is possible, because Belgrade is just a big village."

Meri: "You ask about Switzerland? I made out with a chick from Switzerland in Pula last summer. They are stupid...What, demonstrations? I don't know anything about that."

Jovan: "I find justification for the young Swiss who revolted against a society in which prestige is the basic goal. Here among us too, much of that depends for a young man upon how much money his folks have. We live in an unenviable economic situation, and that is reflected strongly in the students' standard of living. But nonetheless, nobody is doing anything to change that. I am amazed by the Poles..."

[Question No 7:] "Are you a member of the League of Socialist Youth?"

Jovan: "I am a member of the League, but not of the League of Communists, and I don't want to be."

Meri: "I am a member of the League, but I haven't paid my dues for 3 years."

Gnjaca: "Of the League? Well, you have to be a member."

Maki: "I am a member of the League, but I don't do anything. We have nothing in common with them."

Seca: "I am a member, but only on paper. I don't even have a membership booklet."

Jasna: "I am a member of the League, but only on paper. Everything is a joke in the League as well. At school and at meetings, we are often afraid to say everything that we think. That is not a youth organization in the true sense of the word."

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